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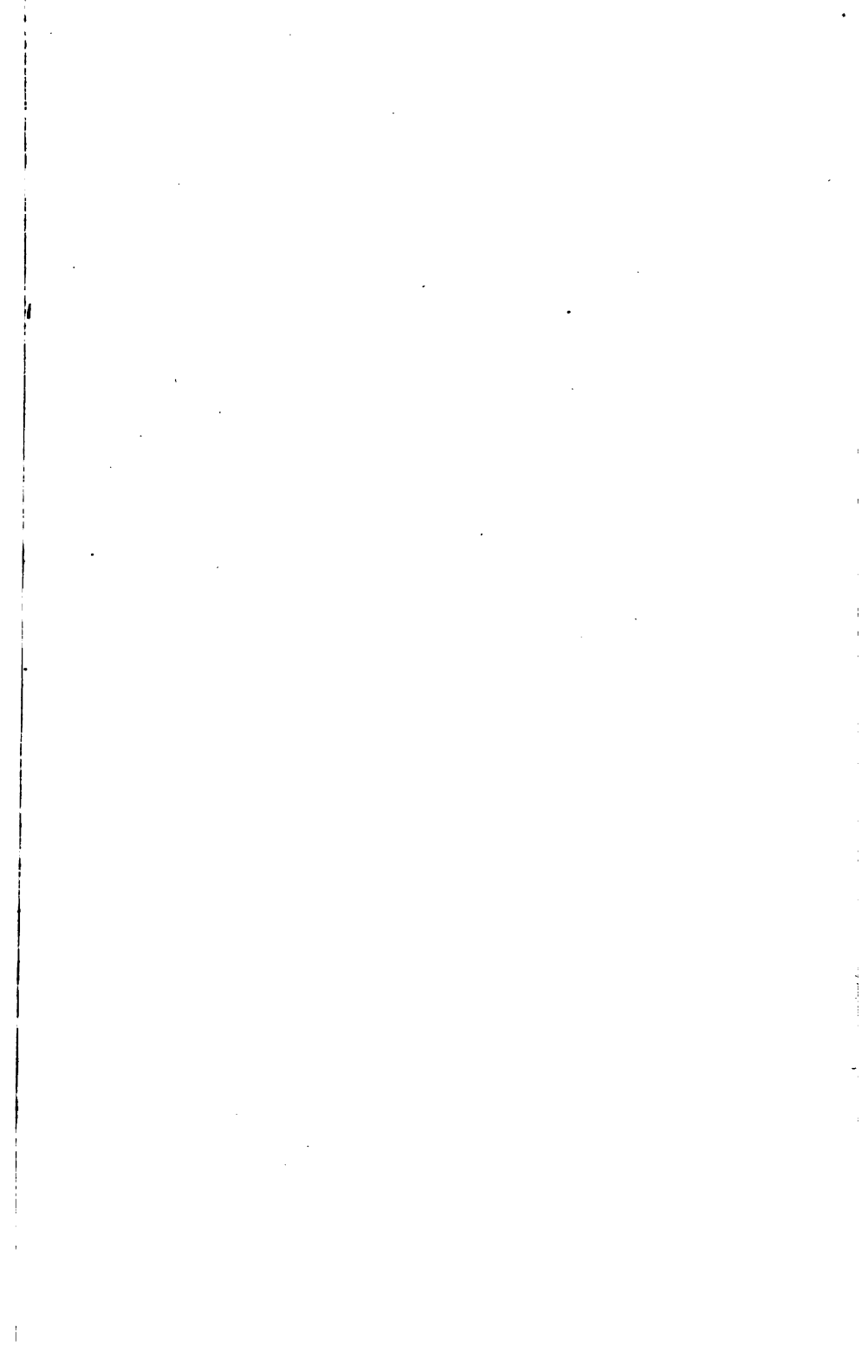
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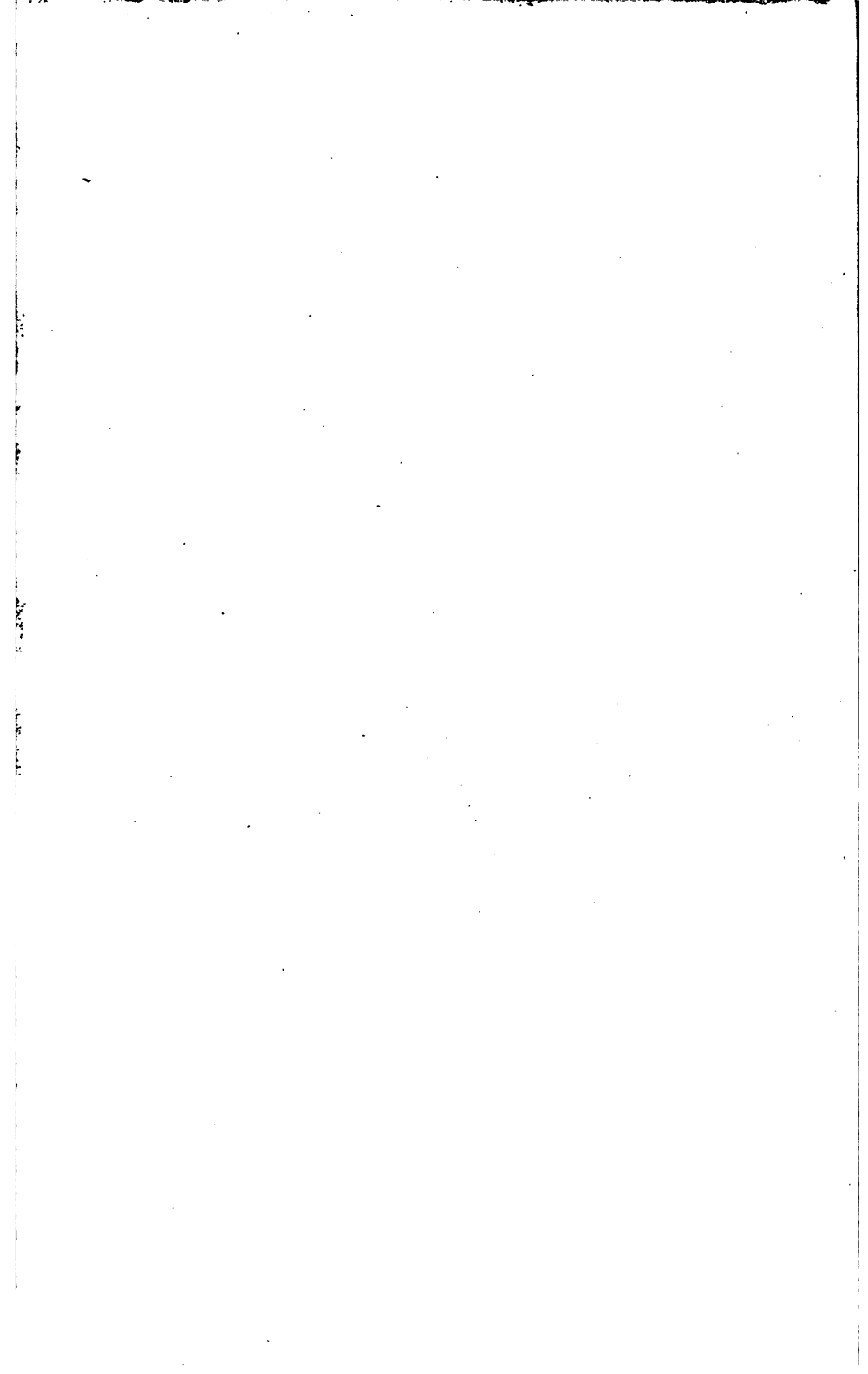


H. Morse Stephens.

University of California







Sir

Our mutual friend
W Sealhead, in whom I know
you feel some interest, is in
London, under the Surgical care
of Sir. Astley Cooper - The
operation for Hæmatocele
was performed by Sir. A. on
Monday last - and in a note
which I received on Wednesday
the subsequent symptoms are
favourable -

You will, I hope, excuse the
liberty of my addressing you.
I was gratified to learn from

from your Antiquarian friend
that you felt some little
justification in the question
"Who was Junius?" -

I respectfully offer for your
acceptance a small pamphlet,
which is now out of print, on
that, to me, curious subject -
And I think which will repay
you for the trouble of a personal
Mr Starchard laughs at an idea
which I have held for some time
that Celts were sacrificial
instruments - perhaps I may

offer to Mr. Hoban certain arguments
on that opinion which may yet
shake his objections -

If such a Society as you hint at
were formed, how gladly should I
present myself as a Candidate
if it should die away. I would
suggest the feasibility of
establishing a Corresponding
Antiquarian Society -

How will I fear think me a most
impertinent fellow, but really
it is such a rare thing to meet
or hear of a gentleman fond
of antiquarian lore, that

hesitate not, in trying to
form with such congenial soul
some little friendly intercourse.

Permit to offer for your study
in my favourite pursuit - a
sketch of figures and a date
copied by a young friend from an
oak panel, where from or to what
it belonged history says not.

You will have the goodness to
return the sketch to me, after
you have examined it carefully.

Excuse this liberty and permit
me to remain yours respectfully
John Swinden

May 22

1840.

Surgeon

Woolen

1999
California



Hall, sculp.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Chatham.

JUNIUS

LORD CHATHAM,

**AND THE "MISCELLANEOUS LETTERS" PROVED
TO BE SPURIOUS.**

BY JOHN SWINDEN.

"A writer who builds his arguments upon facts, is not easily to be confuted. He is not to be answered by general assertions, or general reproaches. He may want eloquence to amuse or persuade, but, speaking truth, he must always convince."
JUNIUS.

"The evidence which truth carries with it is superior to all argument; it neither wants the support, nor dreads the opposition, of the greatest abilities."
LORD CHATHAM.

LONDON:

**LONGMAN, REES, ORME, BROWN, GREEN, AND LONGMAN;
AND JOHN CROSS, LEEDS.**

1833.

DA 502
P6 58

HENRY MORSE STEPHENS

PRINTED BY R. FERRING, LEEDS.

70 VINT
ALBION

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE WILLIAM,
EARL OF DARTMOUTH, D.C.L.

&c. &c. &c.

MY LORD,

I take leave to dedicate this small volume to your Lordship without the previous ceremony of requesting permission.

Your Lordship's name is a sure passport to public favour; I have therefore a manifest interest in connecting it with my pages. But I beg to assure your Lordship that higher motives actuate me. Residing in a part of Yorkshire in which your Lordship possesses property, I have had frequent opportunities of witnessing your Lordship's generosity of disposition and benevolence of heart. In that district the Earl of Dartmouth's name is intimately blended with every useful institution, and is heard in the prayers of the grateful poor. I wish to gratify my feelings by adding to this humble record a public expression of unfeigned admiration and respect on my own part.

Your Lordship's close attention to every thing concerning the political and constitutional history of the country must render interesting the question which I have endeavoured to elucidate ; and there is obviously a family reason why the Earl of Dartmouth should desire to see the solution of a mystery which has long baffled the sagacity of political and literary critics.

I have the honour to subscribe myself,

MY LORD,

Your Lordship's faithful and obedient servant,

JOHN SWINDEN.

Morley, July 15, 1833.

PREFACE.

THIS is not a new edition of "An Attempt to prove that Lord Chatham was Junius," published by me in 1830, but a new work, containing, certainly, the same line of argument, but supported, I trust, by a considerable body of additional evidence. In my title-page I have assumed what some may deem a bold position. I say Junius was Lord Chatham. Let the question be judged by what I have placed on record. I ask no more.

But should I have failed in establishing my case to the satisfaction of any of my readers, I think I may confidently claim the credit of having detected, beyond question or cavil, the spuriousness of the "Miscellaneous Letters," and in doing this have at least brushed away from the memory of a great man a mass of deformity and absurdity.

That Lord Chatham was capable of writing the Letters of Junius, must be conceded ; that his general style and tone of thinking were the same as those of Junius, cannot be rationally denied ; that he was in a position to acquire the peculiar information with which his letters abound, must be admitted by all who know any thing of Chatham and the history of the period in which he flourished ; that he had motives for anger, and provocations to violence, no one will venture to dispute.

I shall not enter into a metaphysical investigation of the effect of political disappointment and resentment upon an ardent mind. That Chatham was overbearing and violent, and could not brook contradiction, and was steadily fierce in his anger, are matters of history. The writer of "A Sketch of Horne Tooke," published in the 209th number (June, 1833,) of Blackwood's Magazine, has given a brief and forcible summary of his character. "Lord Chatham," he says, "was driven from power by his own imperiousness ; by the utter difficulty of finding a Cabinet with whom he could act, for he would be despotic or nothing ; and by the awakened indignation of the King, who must have surrendered to him all but the sceptre. England had long honoured him, for she had

never seen a more successful Minister. In the early years of his government, his name was triumph, but all his great qualities were already tarnished by the spirit of dictation. Prompt, sagacious, and bold, no man was ever more distinctly moulded for command. But his pride drew an impassable line between him and all public men. He could condescend to no associate. He tolerated no alliance. All authority must be concentrated in his person. He at length urged his claims to a height which would have made the King a citizen, the Cabinet a tool, and the Government a dictatorship. He fell ; *and he revenged himself by assailing the Cabinet through the sides of the country, and labouring to make the King feel the loss of the Minister by his power of stimulating the popular hostility to the throne, and sanctioning the outrage of the Colonies against the Empire.* It is painful to be compelled thus to desecrate the tomb where the man of fame and of genius lies. But it should be more painful to disguise the truth. The more brilliant the name the more important the example. The mighty mind of Chatham, humiliated and rendered useless for a great portion of his public career by a single fault, supplies a moral to all the future weaknesses of ambition. If a combination of qualities, unrivalled in English political history, the highest eloquence, the most commanding foresight, the most vigorous and daring activity of mind, should have sunk into the clientship of a factious opposition, and the advocacy of an illegitimate revolt ; if Chatham could stoop from wielding the destinies of England to the patronage of the mob ; how sensitively should the inferior race of statesmen shrink from the crime, if they would escape the condemnation !” These remarks are for the most part correct both in fact and conclusion. They were not seen by me till after my pages had nearly passed through the press, but the principle they involve is the basis of my case, the key to the lesson which I claim to have “made easy” to every intelligent and unprejudiced mind. When Cicero returned to Rome from the honourable exile occasioned by the dastardly revenge of Clodius, “all Italy,” it was said, “brought him back upon its shoulders.” In a similar way alone would Chatham have consented to return to office ; he refused the call of his King, preferring his resentment to his duty. And if the affiliation of the Letters of Junius upon him, while it increases his literary fame, should detract from his merits as a man, I too must adopt the language quoted above. It is painful to desecrate the tomb of genius and fame, “but it should be more painful to disguise the truth.” It is

not my fault if the mode of disseminating the Letters of Junius, and the motives which inspired many of them, cast a shade over the splendour of the author's achievement.

Of the character of Chatham's eloquence little need be said in this place. I may apply to him that which has been stated of Demosthenes. "Energy and Majesty are his peculiar excellencies. From the gravity of Thucydides, the pomp and dignity of Plato, the ease and elegance, the neatness and simplicity of the Attic writers, he formed a style and manner admirably fitted to his own temper and genius, as well as that of his hearers. His own severity determined him to the more forcible methods of astonishing and terrifying, rather than to the gentle and insinuating arts of persuasion." I have cited ample testimony of the justness of this panegyric.

One of Lord Chatham's favourite maxims was, that "in any question of religious controversy we must appeal to the great source and evidence of Religion, the Bible." With equal propriety I appeal, in this question, to the Letters of Junius and to the Speeches and Life of William Earl of Chatham. I have not trodden in the beaten track of other writers; I have investigated for myself and drawn my own inferences; I have not knowingly advanced false facts, nor, I hope, reasoned falsely from true principles.

To descend to myself, I may perhaps be allowed to say that I make no pretensions to style. I have written what I thought on the impulse of the moment, and printed what I wrote. "The evidence which truth carries with it," says Chatham himself, "is superior to all argument; it neither wants the support nor dreads the opposition of the greatest abilities." I am content to be judged by this doctrine. Like all parents, I naturally feel an affection for my offspring, but its real value must be determined by its correctness. The question of "Who was Junius?" has long been held to be an interesting one. It is said that a Living Nobleman (Lord Grenville) has placed on record the means of resolving the riddle after his death. If I have succeeded in deducing the same truth from the scanty circumstantial evidence at my command, I shall at any rate escape the mortification of playing the part of the mountain which laboured and only brought forth a mouse.

I observe that Dr. Waterhouse, an American, has published in the United States a bulky octavo to prove that *Lord Chatham was Junius*. He has done me the honour of taking from my "Attempt" my strongest

arguments, but has forgotten to acknowledge their source. As, however, he has not discarded the "Miscellaneous Letters," though inclined to doubt their authenticity, he in a considerable degree stultifies himself and lessens the value of his work.

I may venture to add that my motive for coming before the public a second time is not an interested one. I lay no tax upon the public, for I write not for the market, having confined the present edition within the limits of the circle of my personal friends. My sole ambition is to elucidate an important point in political and literary history.

Morley, near Leeds, July 15, 1833.

J. S.

JUNIUS LORD CHATHAM.

To those who have made themselves acquainted with the state of political parties in this kingdom at the accession of George the Third, and during the first ten years of his reign, nothing can appear more evident than that a spirit of jealousy and dissatisfaction was extensively diffused through the people. To whatever cause this general discontent may be attributed, it must be acknowledged that George the Third commenced his reign inauspiciously. After having dismissed from his councils those individuals who had been honoured with the confidence of his predecessor, and with the respect of the people, his Majesty determined to exercise his royal power by dissolving every administration which presumed to question the propriety of any measure recommended by himself, or by the Earl of Bute, who had acquired the unpopular and, at all times, odious appellation of the Favourite.

The ill-defined power, called prerogative, had, in preceding reigns, been a stumbling-block to our kings; and every attempt to exercise it, in its fullest extent, had terminated in narrowing its boundaries, and in enlarging the rights and privileges of the people. Had George the Third perused the annals of our history with attention, he would not have disregarded the lessons of experience and wisdom there recorded for the benefit of kings as well as subjects.

In the early days of his Majesty's reign, we find him assuming for the Crown the right to seize the private papers of individuals who had in their published writings violated the privileges of Parliament. What those privileges were, had, indeed, never been defined; yet their existence and their nature were to be made dependent on the arbitrium of one man. Not satisfied with the possession and exercise of a power so liable to be misused, the Crown claimed the right to arrest any one who published what was termed a libel, before the individual had been tried for the supposed offence, and a submissive House of Commons proceeded to expel one of its members for having published a paper on political subjects which one of the Peers considered a personal reflection on himself, and a violation of the privileges of the Upper House of Parliament.

The unrestrained issue of general warrants had at all times placed the personal liberty of the subject on a precarious and dangerous footing. Invested with such a power, the legality of which had hitherto never been questioned, the Government could arrest individuals without any definite charge of crime being made against them. How liable a power of this nature was to be arbitrarily used, is evident to every one. The most obnoxious man to the Ministry resisted the right claimed by the Crown to issue general warrants: "he brought them to trial; and the moment they were tried, they were declared illegal."

The decisive steps taken by the King and the Favourite, to enforce these unconstitutional measures, were attended with some degree of success—but short was their triumph. The people became aware of the importance of resistance; and having, as they believed, a fair opportunity afforded of bringing the question to a beneficial issue, made the affair of a private man their own. The struggle ended as might have been expected. The Crown was obliged not merely to surrender the question of the right claimed, but to acknowledge that it could not legally exercise it.

The loss of such important privileges turned the attention of the King from his subjects at home, and in an unlucky moment he listened to a plan, devised by one of his Ministers, to tax the Colonies, without allowing to them the right of representatives in the House of Commons, where taxes alone could be imposed. The termination of that proceeding was unexpected. The Colonies resisted the right to tax them; and, not contented with the single advantage of a successful resistance, they insisted on being governed by laws made by themselves.

The trial by jury did not escape the attention of the dependent Ministers of the King, and a very powerful effort was made to render nugatory one of its best provisions. Contrary, however, to the authority of the Lord Chief Justice, and the power of the Ministry, a jury determined that the law, as well as the fact, was a question for their special consideration.

The privileges of Parliament had hitherto protected the speeches of the Members from being reported to the public with any degree of accuracy; fictitious names were given to the speakers, and the debates of the senate of Lilliput were too meagre to attract particular attention. But an important though a gradual change was effected at this period, the Parliament tacitly submitting to see its proceedings fully reported.

It is not to be presumed that the Crown would willingly surrender what it considered as hereditary privileges; nor can we reasonably imagine that the people could have wrested them from its powerful grasp without the assistance of men who possessed information, talent, courage, and an intimate knowledge of our laws, on which the rights of the Crown and the People were based. The conduct of the people proved that they were sensible of this.

A slight glance at the Parliamentary debates in these memorable years will show to us the names of men who were strenuous in opposing the Ministry. The Whigs, as a party, were influenced, possibly, in the first instance, by personal motives, to join the people. Power, and the good things accompanying its possession, had passed into the hands of their opponents; that produced no kindly feelings in the breasts of the Whig leaders; and it increased the spirit of scrutiny which was exerted to foil every measure brought forward by the Government.

The importance of public opinion was not unknown to the Whigs, and they willingly united their cause with the people. The Ministry were as sensible of the value of popular opinion, and every artifice was practised by Whig and Tory to keep or to acquire possession of it.

Innumerable writers were employed and paid by the Government to support their plans, and to bring into contempt the private and public characters of the leaders of the Opposition. The Whigs had also the assistance of literary men, who appeared to be influenced by patriotic motives, yet unceasingly attacked the King and the Ministry, indulging, without scruple or delicacy, in revelations of the most important secrets, and traducing, without remorse, men who were respected and esteemed.

Dr. Johnson was the hired champion of the Ministry. But the most influential writer who joined the opposition, was an anonymous author, who signed his Letters "*JUNIUS*." The sources of his information were so numerous and important, and the effect which they produced of alienating the affections of the people from the King was so manifest, that the King and the Ministry became seriously alarmed. The anonymous Junius seemed to possess a spirit of ubiquity. No secret, however important, escaped him—no information was too difficult to be attained by him. Like Asmodeus, he drew aside the curtains in the palaces of Kings and Nobles, and indulged the prying curiosity of the multitude with a sight of scenes which had never entered into their hearts to imagine.

Many talented individuals, contemporary with Junius, publicly acknowledged the impression which his Letters produced. Mr. Burke was so powerfully convinced of their influence that he called the attention of the House of Commons to the subject in the following language.

“Where, then, shall we look for the origin of this relaxation of the laws and all government? How comes this Junius to have broke through the cobwebs of the laws, and to range uncontrolled, unpunished, through the land? The myrmidons of the Court have been long, and are still pursuing him in vain. They will not spend their time upon me, or you. No; they disdain such vermin, when the mighty boar of the forest, that has broke through all their toils, is before them. But what will their efforts avail? No sooner has he wounded one, than he lays down another dead at his feet. For my part, when I saw his attack upon the King, I own my blood ran cold. I thought he had ventured too far, and there was an end of his triumphs. Not that he had not asserted many bold truths. Yes, Sir, there are, in that composition, many bold truths by which a wise prince might profit. It was the rancour and venom with which I was struck. In these respects, the North Briton is as much inferior to him as in strength, wit, and judgment. But while I expected in this daring flight his final ruin and fall, behold him rising still higher, and coming down souse upon both Houses of Parliament. Yes; he did make you his quarry, and you still bleed from the wounds of his talons. You crouched, and still crouch, beneath his rage. King, Lords, and Commons are but the sport of his fury. Were he a Member of this House, what might not be expected from his knowledge, his firmness, and integrity? He would be easily known by his contempt of all danger—by his penetration—by his vigour. Nothing could escape his vigilance and activity. Bad Ministers could conceal nothing from his sagacity; nor could promises nor threats induce him to conceal any thing from the public.”

If, however, the Whigs had received no more effective support than from anonymous writers, the people would not have declared themselves so strongly attached to the sentiments maintained by Junius; he exercised, indeed, an almost unlimited power over the imaginations and passions of the Whig partizan; and the boldness and seeming predictions of his language were received by the people as oracular. Yet his authority was feeble—it was unsupported by a name and character.

At this crisis, the speeches and conduct of an individual effected what the writings of Junius had paved the way for. The nation made one simultaneous effort to recover their rights; the consequence was fatal to prerogative, and to hereditary and arbitrary power.

By the politicians of the times, he is called the Leader of Opposition; by others, he is emphatically styled "the Man of the People;" and the Whigs acknowledged him as William Pitt, Earl of Chatham. Burke, Lord Chesterfield, Wilkes, the Abbé Raynal, the King of Prussia, and Charles Butler, have each contributed to record his great abilities in the language of truth and panegyric. If such men thought him deserving of their highest encomiums, we may unhesitatingly credit the eulogiums of those who were not his Lordship's contemporaries.

Mr. Butler, in his *Reminiscences*, says,—“It was frequently given to the writer of these pages to hear the speeches of Lord Chatham. No person in his external appearance was ever more bountifully gifted by nature for an orator. In his look and gesture, grace and dignity were combined, but dignity presided; the ‘terrors of his beak, the lightning of his eye,’ were insufferable. His voice was both full and clear; his lowest whisper was distinctly heard; his middle tones were sweet, rich, and beautifully varied; when he elevated his voice to its highest pitch the House was completely filled with the volume of the sound. The effect was awful, except when he wished to cheer and animate, and then he had spirit-stirring notes which were perfectly irresistible. He frequently rose, on a sudden, from a very low to a very high key, but it seemed to be without effort. His diction was remarkably simple, but words were never chosen with greater care. His sentiments, too, were apparently simple; but sentiments were never adopted or uttered with greater skill; he was often familiar and even playful, but it was the familiarity and playfulness of condescension; the lion that dandled the kid. The terrible, however, was his peculiar power. Then the whole House sank before him. Still he was dignified; and wonderful as was his eloquence, it was attended with this important effect, that it impressed every hearer with a conviction that there was something in him finer even than his words; that the man was infinitely greater than the orator.”

Here I might pause, satisfied that the Reminiscent has presented to us so beautiful and perfect a sketch of the character of Lord Chatham; but the opinions of Burke, and those who were contemporary with his Lordship, must not be passed over unnoticed. Thus speaks Burke:—

“ Lord Chatham ! a great and celebrated name, who possessed every outward requisite to bespeak respect and awe, whose lofty genius and persuasive eloquence rendered him the idol of the nation—who had the best understanding of any man in England. Whose superior talents had subdued the House of Commons, whose integrity and disinterestedness, whose zeal against corruption, and whose inviolable attachment to the interests of his country, had procured for him a great and celebrated name. Possessed of an eloquence that was irresistible, and a genius that was at once enterprising and steady. Conscious of his own virtue, he never sought to conceal any part of his conduct. His invectives were terrible, and uttered with such energy of diction, and such dignity of action and countenance, that he intimidated those who were the most willing and the best able to encounter him.”

Thomson, in his *Seasons*, alluding to Lord Chatham, says—

“ ——— Thy pathetic eloquence, that moulds
Th’ attentive senate, charms, persuades, exalts ;
Of honest zeal th’ indignant lightning throws,
And shakes corruption on her venal throne.”

Lord John Russell has given a summary of the opinions of others, combined with his own, which cannot fail to interest us :—“ He was a man endowed with qualities to captivate a nation, and subdue a popular assembly. Bold and unhesitating in the part he was to take upon every public question, he was the master of a loud harmonious voice, a commanding eye, an unrivalled energy, but at the same time propriety of language, and a light of imagination which flashed from him with brilliant splendour, and was gone ere any one could pronounce that the speaker was fanciful or digressive. Upon every important subject, he appealed to some common and inspiring sentiment ; the feeling of national honour, disgust at political corruption, the care of popular liberty, contempt of artifice, or hatred of oppression. But, provided the topic were animating and effective, he little cared whether it were one on which a wise patriot could honestly dilate ; a vulgar prejudice served his turn as well as an ancient and useful privilege : he countenanced every prevailing delusion, and hurried the nation to war, not as a necessary evil, but as an honourable choice. Above all, he loved to nurse the popular jealousy of France ; and it was upon his means of gratifying this feeling that he seemed to build his hopes of future power. Ever ready to be the mouth-piece of the cry or clamour of the hour, he could be as inconsistent as the multitude itself. In his earlier days, when reproached

with his change of opinion, he pleaded honest conviction of error : after he had acquired authority, he faced down his accusers with a glare of his eye and the hardihood of his denial. Nor, although he assumed a tone of virtue superior to his age, was he more scrupulous than others in political intrigue. But his object was higher ;—instead of bartering his conscience for a large salary, or a share of patronage, he aimed at individual power—the fame of a great orator ; to be the fear of every cabal, and the admiration of a whole people.” *

Mr. Wilkes’s “Character of Lord Chatham,” published in the Political Register of 1769, will assist us in forming a proper estimate of his Lordship’s abilities :—

“He raised himself to the greatest offices of the State by the rare talent of command in a popular assembly. He was indeed born an orator ; and, from nature, possessed every outward requisite to bespeak respect, and even awe. A manly figure, with the eagle face of the famous Conde, fixed your attention, and almost commanded reverence the moment he appeared ; and the keen lightning of his eye bespoke the haughty, fiery soul, before his lips had pronounced a syllable. His tongue dropped venom. There was a kind of fascination in his look, when he eyed any one askance. Nothing could withstand the force of that contagion. The fluent Murray has faltered, and even Fox shrunk back appalled from an adversary fraught with fire unquenchable, if I may borrow the expression of our great Milton. He always cultivated the art of speaking with the most intense care and application. He has passed his life in the culling of words, the arrangement of phrases, and choice of metaphors.”

Extract from the Preface to Lord Chatham’s Speeches, by Mr. Boyd ; published in 1779 :—

“Those who have been witnesses to the wonders of his eloquence ; who have listened to the music of his voice, or trembled at its majesty ; who have seen the persuasive gracefulness of his action, or have felt its force ; those who have caught the flame of eloquence from his eye, who

* “In those qualities that form a great statesman, in solid judgment, in immoveable purpose, in enlargement of views and rapidity of decision, Cicero is not to be compared with Demosthenes or Pericles among the Greeks—with Cæsar among the Romans—with *Chatham*, *Burke*, or *Napoleon* among the moderns.”—*Westminster Rev.* July 1832.

have rejoiced in the glories of his countenance, or shrunk from its frowns; will remember the resistless power with which he impressed conviction. In these sketches of his original genius, they will read what they have heretofore heard: and their memory will give due action to the picture, by refiguring to their minds what they have with admiration seen. But to those who never heard nor saw this accomplished orator, the utmost effort of imagination will be necessary to form a just idea of that combination of excellence which gave perfection to his eloquence; his elevated aspect, commanding the awe and mute attention of all who beheld him; while a certain grace in his manner, conscious of all the dignities of his situation, of the solemn scene he acted in, as well as his own exalted character, seemed to acknowledge and repay the respect he received. His venerable form, bowed with infirmity and age, but animated by a mind which nothing could subdue: his spirit shining through him, arming his eye with lightning, and clothing his lips with thunder: or, if milder topics offered, harmonising his countenance in smiles, and his voice in softness—for the compass of his powers was infinite. As no idea was too vast, no imagination too sublime, for the grandeur and majesty of his manner; so no fancy was too playful, nor any allusion too comic, for the ease and gaiety with which he could accommodate the occasion. But the character of his oratory was dignity: this presided throughout; giving force, because securing respect, even to his sallies of pleasantry. This elevated the most familiar language, and gave novelty and grace to the most familiar allusions; so that, in his hand, even the crutch became a weapon of oratory.”*

I am indebted for the following energetic outline to the Retrospective Review:—

“Great, however, as we seriously believe Lord Chatham’s merits as a Minister to have been, we turn with still higher pleasure to his efforts as a leader of opposition. He was, indeed, and emphatically, the man of the people. He was their constant, sincere, and most able advocate, their warm and zealous friend; ready to ward off any danger which might threaten their true interests, whether proceeding from ministerial encroachment, or their own imprudence. And never, certainly, were the people of this country in greater need of such a friend, than during

* Almon’s Edition of “Junius.”

the first ten years of George the Third. Administration succeeded to administration with a rapidity quite unparalleled; each heterogeneous, discordant, and weak; all the alternate tools and victims of a single favourite's caprice, Lord Bute, whose influence was the curse of Britain for so many years, precipitated the Court into many acts so arbitrary and wilful as to exasperate the country almost to rebellion. At such a time, Lord Chatham stood forward to repress the violence of parties; and while he vindicated the rights of the people, in language the boldest and most eloquent, and with a zeal and manner to which (as contemporary writers tell us) no description could do justice, he rebuked the revolutionary spirit, and rescued multitudes from its unholy domination. The very austerity which partly disqualified him for a minister, rendered his efforts, as the people's advocate, only more impressive and successful. Corruption, impudent as it was in those days, not unfrequently trembled before him. He kept apostacy and tyranny in seasonable awe. The scoffer at patriotism, the derider of human rights, the ignorant or interested partisan of intolerance, rarely ventured to encounter the thunder and lightning of his indignation. He was contented with the constitution as he found it; and though he believed that many abuses had vitiated it, and that some disorders had crept in, which, if not reformed in season, would bring about its dissolution, he yet resisted every proposal to take away even one of the principles on which it was built. He thought that so long as the influence of the Crown was kept within moderate bounds, so long as justice was administered in purity, so long as the voice of the people could make itself heard in those deliberations which involved their interests, the constitution was a good one, and ought to be affectionately cherished. He was no innovator; but neither would he submit to innovation upon the country's rights. His loyalty was unblemished, but it comprehended the people as well as the king. He discountenanced every thing like wanton resistance to any public authority; but, at the same time, he believed with Lord Somers, that the highest authority might act in a way which would justify resistance."

I have said that all men have been emulous to praise Lord Chatham; that friend as well as foe "*unanimously*" voted him the honour of a public funeral; that the Norths and the Cavendishes of the day joined in the "*unanimous*" and humble address to the King, to confer some signal favour on the family of the deceased Earl. But I must limit my

remark to *honourable foes*:—"It was not for a man like Horace Walpole, a man of petty notions, of narrow views, and of very slender charity, to understand a character like that of the elder Pitt; as well might the ant attempt to judge of the symmetry of the elephant. Still less, however, was it likely, *à priori*, that if Walpole had, by possibility, understood such a man, he would have praised him. The stern and haughty virtue of Chatham, his austere patriotism, and that lofty decision of character, so regardless of all the forms of etiquette, and so hostile to every thing like political intrigue, were ill calculated to conciliate praise from the meddling, polished, timid, lady-like Walpole. Moreover, when it is considered that the power of the historian's own father was incessantly attacked, and at length overturned, by a Parliamentary phalanx, of which Mr. Pitt was a most conspicuous member, we shall be able to understand why the memory of that statesman is persecuted by a writer, who seems never to have forgiven an insult upon himself or his family." *

We are now in some degree prepared to examine the question of Lord Chatham's claim to the authorship of the Letters of Junius; that his Lordship had abilities equal to the task, cannot be disputed. The editor of Mr. George Woodfall's edition of Junius has given, in the preliminary essay, a tolerably correct outline of the characteristics required by a claimant who is brought forward as the author of the Letters of Junius. I have no hesitation in admitting the opinions of Dr. Mason Good as correct, with but one or two exceptions; and I have as little fear in quoting them, because I am convinced that no man, known either by his writings, speeches, or orations, existed in the days of Junius, who, in all important points, answered to the characteristics required, excepting Lord Chatham.

In Woodfall's edition, Vol. I. p. 97, we are informed that "the author of the Letters of Junius was an Englishman of highly cultivated education, deeply versed in the language, the laws, the constitution, and history of his native country: that he was a man of easy, if not of affluent circumstances, of unsullied honour and generosity; who had it equally in his heart and in his power to contribute to the necessities of other persons, and especially of those who were exposed to troubles of any kind on his account: that he was in habits of confidential intercourse,

* Ret. Rev. Vol. VII. p. 353.

if not with different members of the Cabinet, with politicians who were most intimately familiar with the Court, and entrusted with all its secrets : that he had attained an age which would allow him, without vanity, to boast of an ample knowledge and experience of the world ; that during the years 1767, 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, and part of 1772, he resided almost constantly in London or its vicinity, devoting a very large portion of his time to political concerns, and publishing his political lucubrations under different signatures in the *Public Advertiser* : that in his natural temper he was quick, irritable, and impetuous ; subject to political prejudices and strong personal animosities, but possessed of a highly independent spirit ; honestly attached to the principles of the constitution, and fearless and indefatigable in maintaining them : that he was strict in his moral conduct, and in his attention to public decorum ; an avowed member of the established church, and, though acquainted with English judicature, not a lawyer by profession. What other characteristics he may have possessed we know not ; but these are sufficient ; and the claimant who cannot produce them conjointly is in vain brought forward as the author of the *Letters of Junius*."

Before we proceed to the discussion of the authorship of the *Letters of Junius*, we must be careful to select a genuine edition of the writings of that celebrated individual : so needful a procedure will not be deemed superfluous. If we produce a copy of the *Letters* published under the immediate care of Junius himself, few persons will feel disposed to question its authenticity ; if, however, the edition of Mr. G. Woodfall be called the *Letters of Junius*, I shall protest against its legitimate right to that title.

The almost unbounded credence which has been given to Mr. G. Woodfall's edition of the "*Miscellaneous Letters of Junius*" would have deterred me from an investigation into their genuineness if I were not convinced that the most irrefragable proofs can be adduced that they were not written by Junius.

It is a fortunate circumstance that Junius was subjected to the mortification of seeing a spurious edition of his *Letters*. To that we are indebted for an edition "corrected and improved by the author." In the preface, Junius says—"The encouragement given to a multitude of spurious, mangled publications of Junius, persuades me that a complete edition, corrected and improved by the author, will be favourably

received. This edition contains all the Letters of Junius, Philo-Junius, and of Sir William Draper and Mr. Horne to Junius, with their respective dates, and according to the order in which they appeared in the Public Advertiser."

In a private letter to his printer, dated Dec. 1771, Junius writes—"The enclosed completes all the materials that I can give you. I have done my part—take care you do your's. There are still two letters wanting, which I expect you will not fail to insert in their places. One is from Philo-Junius to Scævola about Lord Camden, the other (also a Philo-Junius) to a friend of the people about pressing."

Let us now examine the evidence which Mr. George Woodfall has produced to invalidate the explicit assertion of Junius that he had published a complete edition.

Mr. G. Woodfall, in the year 1812, came into possession, by purchase, of the private letters of Junius to Mr. Woodfall, senior, the printer of the Public Advertiser, and to Mr. Wilkes. I am satisfied to grant this;* but I would inquire—How came Mr. G. Woodfall to publish with the letters he had purchased another selection of letters which he termed the Miscellaneous Letters of Junius? Surely he offered some proof of their authenticity? We will quote his own explanation:—"The proofs of their having been composed by the writer denominated Junius are incontestible; the manner, the phraseology, the sarcastic exprobratory style, independently of any other evidence, sufficiently identify them. These therefore are now added, together with such others whose genuineness is equally indisputable, to the acknowledged Letters of Junius, to render his productions complete. It is no objection to their being genuine that they were omitted by Junius in his own edition published by Mr. Woodfall, senior."

Such is the *evidence* which announced a volume of Letters called the Miscellaneous Letters of Junius. I cannot assent to the mere opinion

* Mr. C. Butler "who amused himself in an inquiry after the author of Junius's Letters," remarks in a letter to Dr. Parr—"There is little doubt of the authenticity of the private correspondence between Junius and Woodfall." (Rem. Vol. II. p. 239.) The Miscellaneous Letters are not even named by either Mr. Butler or Dr. Parr: a silence so expressive cannot be misunderstood.

of the purchaser and publisher of the *Correspondence of Junius* with his Father and Mr. Wilkes, and I will candidly state my reasons for presuming to require more than an exprobratory style to class a letter as the production of Junius.

If the *Miscellaneous Letters* had been indebted for their first public appearance to Mr. George Woodfall, or been brought to light by any explanation contained in the *Private Letters*, I should consider Mr. G. Woodfall entitled to submit them to the public as the presumed Letters of Junius; but, unfortunately for that gentleman, the entire series of *Miscellaneous Letters* had been in the columns of a public newspaper for nearly half a century. They had been read or seen by Dr. Johnson, Mr. Burke, Sir W. Draper, Mr. Wilkes, Mr. Horne, Dr. Parr, Mr. Butler, and by a host of men eminent for critical research and political knowledge; yet no observation had ever been made by any one about them; they were perused with no more than ordinary attention—they elicited no passing remark—and they never became the subject of controversy, until Mr. G. Woodfall rescued them, after forty years, from the oblivion which they deserved.

Do we find, in "the complete edition corrected by Junius," a single Letter, or a solitary sentence, from the mass of Letters called "*The Miscellaneous Letters of Junius*?" Certainly not. Neither does Junius give even a hint, in his private letters to Mr. Woodfall, senior, about having written a long series of letters prior to his first Junius in 1769. Surely Junius might have selected, for his "complete edition," one letter out of the 113 which he had written, says Mr. Woodfall, in 1767 and 1768, and he was strangely negligent in overlooking so ample a series of his own letters!

A different fate awaited the appearance of a real Junius. "The first letter which appeared under the signature of Junius brought the writer into instant and full celebrity." The Editor of the *Gentleman's Magazine* for February, 1769, introduces Junius by observing—"The following papers are written with a knowledge of public affairs beyond the line of ordinary information, and are therefore submitted to the public." The subsequent numbers of that Magazine verified the remark: each Letter of Junius was inscribed in the order of its appearance. The *Political Register* for May, 1769, remarks—"The Letters which have been written by the masterly pen of Junius, having excited and engaged the attention of the admirers of elegant diction, we cannot but congratu-

tulate the public on finding that this celebrated writer appears to be a sound reasoner on political facts, which he likewise states with great precision and impartiality."

I may, perhaps without impropriety, remind the believers in the authenticity of the *Miscellaneous Letters*, that in January, 1769, when the first *Junius* was published, Fifty-five of the *Miscellaneous Letters* had appeared in the columns of public newspapers, without note or comment, although they were signed with a variety of Roman names to catch the attention of the learned—as Valerius, Titus, Silurus, Publius, Lucius,* Brutus. The bait, however, never took.

Mr. Samson Woodfall does not give us any intimation that he had the slightest suspicion that *Junius* was an old correspondent. When *Junius* was forming an edition of his works, "complete, and corrected by the author," he says to Woodfall, "there are still two letters wanting." In a prior letter to his printer, he writes—"Do with my letters exactly what you please. I should think that, to make a better figure than Newberry, some others of my letters may be added, and so throw out a hint that you have reason to suspect they are by the same author. If you adopt this plan, *I shall point out* those I would recommend; for you know I do not, neither have I time to, give equal care to them all." Woodfall adopted the plan, and *Junius pointed out the Philo-Juniuses*, written to defend or explain particular passages in *Junius*, but not a single letter from the *Miscellaneous Collection*. Mr. Woodfall made no comment on this omission; he was satisfied to believe that *Junius* knew his own letters; and as Woodfall never for an instant imagined that *Junius* wrote under different signatures, no motive could induce him to make an appeal in favour of 110 letters previously published in the periodicals of the day. The fact stands uncontradicted, that the Woodfall who corresponded with *Junius*, permitted the entire collection of *Miscellaneous Letters*, since published by Mr. George Woodfall, to be unknown as the *Letters of Junius*. The inference is obvious.

* Mr. Almon, the bookseller, "called Lord Temple's man," "was warm in favour of the repeal of the American stamp act, writing and publishing a good deal in support of it." He "wrote many letters under signatures, but several of them under that of an Independent Whig, which, and *Lucius*, were his most usual signatures."—*Memoirs of a late eminent Bookseller*.

In the Gentleman's Magazine for Oct. 1799, p. 845, is a letter from Mr. Wm. Woodfall, brother to Henry Samson Woodfall, from which the following quotation is taken :—" The cause of truth is every man's cause, and I would willingly go out of my way to serve it. That gentleman, (Junius) whoever he was, wrote in the Public Advertiser under the three distinct signatures, Lucius, Junius, Brutus, exclusive of what he himself terms 'the auxiliary part of his correspondence,' the letters signed Philo-Junius. I believe I may safely assert that every one of his letters was shewn me in manuscript by my brother previous to publication, and no one of them ever bore the appearance of being written in a disguised hand." Mr. William Woodfall's account, which I have no wish to doubt, will not contribute to increase the claims of Poplicola, Y. Y., X. X., &c &c., to be considered as from the pen of Junius, although it may entitle Lucius and Brutus to more consideration.

The notes to the preliminary essay let us a little into the secret of proving any given letter, with or without a signature, to be from the pen of Junius. At page *14, we are informed " that those under the signature of Lucius were early and generally traced to the pen of Junius, may be fairly inferred from the following passage in a letter dated April, 1769, by " a long forgotten correspondent." " In the warm and energetic, though keen and sarcastic style of Junius, we may, I think, easily descry the Lucius, long dreaded by his opponents ; and from the warmth of his sentiments, if they do indeed correspond with his expression, we may expect a future Brutus." Mr. Woodfall then remarks that " the celebrity acquired by these earlier letters of Junius, under the signature of Lucius, induced several other writers of the same period to adopt the same signature ; and hence Lucius, and Lucius Verus, are common signatures in the Public Advertiser during the years 1769, 1770. But there is no more reason to suppose that Junius himself ever had recourse to this signature than he had to that of Atticus, or Brutus, *after* the assumption of this last appellative. He would not degrade the name of Lucius by an unfinished production ; and to all that he regarded as finished, he continued to subscribe Junius as a still more popular signature."

Now if I correctly understand this explanation, (not very clearly expressed,) Mr. Woodfall infers that Lucius was Junius because " a long forgotten correspondent" *thinks* he can descry a keen and sarcastic style in Junius, corresponding with the style formerly adopted by the dreaded

Lucius. An inference so fair leads to a general rule, that any or every letter signed Lucius or Brutus must be from the pen of Junius, if the style is keen and sarcastic. The sentence quoted above informs us that "other writers adopted the same signature, and hence Lucius is a common signature during 1769, 1770."

Are we to understand Mr. Woodfall to say that no Lucius appeared before 1769? I should feel inclined to conclude that such was his meaning, if I did not read in the same page that "the letters of Lucius and Atticus preceded those with the signature of Junius by a few weeks." In possession of dates, we may proceed with tolerable safety. The first Lucius (I quote from Mr. Woodfall's edition) is dated 10th Aug. 1768; and Atticus appears for the first time on the 19th of the same month; Junius dates his first letter, January 21, 1769. So much for Mr. Woodfall's accuracy in dates antecedent to Junius. If there were a necessity to mention dates, surely it was proper to be correct, and not to say that a letter written in August, 1768, preceded only by a few weeks one written in January, 1769. "But there is no reason to suppose that Junius ever had recourse to the signature Lucius after he had adopted that of Junius." This I believe is the meaning of Mr. Woodfall's expression. The inference may be a convenient one, because it enables that gentleman to degrade certain other letters signed Lucius, Atticus, and Brutus, which appeared after the first Junius;—perhaps the absence of a keen and sarcastic style may have contributed to condemn them as spurious; at all events, Mr. W. thought them "unfinished productions," they are not included in the Miscellaneous Selection. I have compared the discarded Lucius, Atticus, Brutus, and a "remarkable Vindex," published in the periodicals of 1769, 1770, and I should infer that they had as legitimate a claim to be considered from the pen of Junius, "after he had assumed that appellation," as the letters given in the Miscellaneous Selection. Mr. Woodfall, by some mistake, inserts a *Junius*, dated 21st November, 1768, two months before the real Junius appeared; and by an unaccountable oversight, a Junius to Lord North, printed in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1772, is not to be found in his volume.

That some of the letters signed Junius were cautiously received by the public at the time of their first publication, is clear from the notices to correspondents in the periodicals of 1772: an instance or two will be sufficient as proof.

"The following letter was inserted in the London Packet of May 1, but that not being the channel through which the celebrated Letters of Junius have been usually conveyed to the public, *some persons, notwithstanding the elegance of the style*, suspected this was not the production of that able writer." The letter is signed Junius. It came not from the original adopter of that signature, because it is not inserted by Junius in his own corrected edition.

The second example is more interesting than the first.

"The following letter was inserted in a daily paper ; *by the style, some think it NOT to be the work of that admired author* ; the ideas, they say are too vague, and the language too flat to come from the pen of Junius. The piece, however, has merit ; on which account, and to oblige some of our correspondents, we insert it."*

This was also signed Junius. In the corrected edition *by Junius, the letter is inserted*. It may reasonably be supposed that Mr. Almon, (the editor and publisher of the Political Register, and of many pamphlets† and letters relating to the politics of the Junian era), was as capable of detecting a genuine from a spurious letter as Mr. Woodfall. Yet Mr. Almon has in these instances proved that he was incompetent to form a correct opinion ; he pronounced a genuine Junius to be vague and flat, and not from the pen of the admired author, and the jackdaw in borrowed plumes passes for the celebrated Junius.

The truth is, "that several other writers of the same period adopted the same signatures ;" and our only safe guide is to consider "the corrected and improved edition by Junius" as a complete edition.

Miscellaneous Letter 7, and the note at p. *37, merit a few remarks. The letter may be considered a sort of comic farce ; but in strict fairness to Mr. Woodfall, we will quote his own explanation :—The letter,

* Political Register for 1772.

† In Mr. Erskine's defence of Mr. Almon for libel, he says—Mr. Almon was the friend and favourite of the Earl of Chatham, and I believe he suffered considerably in supporting his interest—*he was often tried for libels wrote in his favour*."—*Memoirs of a late eminent Bookseller*, p. 259. This is a curious admission from so learned a man as Mr. Erskine. Mr. Almon was tried for selling Junius's Letter to the King. Why should Mr. Erskine connect Almon, Chatham, and Junius in an action for libel ?

independently of its containing the style and sentiment of Junius, is additionally brought home to him by the printer's customary acknowledgment in the P. A. being followed by the subjoined observation: "Our friend and correspondent C. will always find the utmost attention paid to his favours."

The characters in the letter are, "Tilbury, Judge Jefferies, Caution, Malagrida, and Sulky." The opening speech of Tilbury will shew us a specimen of the "style and sentiment which, (says Mr. Woodfall,) independently of any other evidence, will sufficiently identify a Junius." "Tilbury. In the name of the devil and his dam, can any body tell what accident brings us five together?" His next sentiment is—"B—t me if I care whether he has any instructions or not. But who the devil's to draw them up?" So much for keen and sarcastic style.

The authority of "our friend and correspondent C." is very properly produced to support Mr. Woodfall; but can we infer that our friend C. of October, 1767, is the same correspondent as the friend C. of April, 1769? It is perhaps possible that the celebrity of the earlier letters signed C. or Lucius, may have induced other writers of the same period to adopt the same signature; and that Junius was so delighted with the keen sarcastic style of C. in 1767, as to induce him to continue the same signature in 1769.

We should, or ought to be, in possession of clear and explicit information to warrant us in saying this or that letter was from the pen of Junius. Conjectures are not proofs; and an inference is not a fair one, unless we have correct data. What, then, have we to support Mr. Woodfall's opinion that these Miscellaneous Letters are written by Junius?

We will pass over a long list of signatures, as various as the style of the letters, and devote a little time to "Atticus."

"There were, says Mr. Woodfall, p. *55, some very excellent letters, signed Atticus, that appeared in the Public Advertiser between the dates of June 26, 1772, and October 14, 1773, and exhibit much of Junius's style, spirit, and sentiments; and which, hence, by some tolerable judges, have been actually ascribed to him; but for various reasons, the editor is convinced they are not the production of Junius. The talents they afford proof of, though considerable, are inferior; and *they contain attacks upon some statesmen who were never attacked by Junius.*"

The fatuity of these admissions is unaccountable. On previous occasions, letters were admitted into the Miscellaneous Selection on account of the style, spirit, and sentiments, independently of any other evidence; but now it pleases Mr. Woodfall to condemn a letter as spurious, although "some tolerable judges" have pronounced it "a very excellent letter," and "it also exhibits much of Junius's style and sentiment." The reasons, however, for so unceremonious a rejection of Atticus, are stated as "inferior to Junius in talents, and they contain attacks upon some statesmen who are never attacked by Junius." The justness of these observations satisfies me; but how can Mr. Woodfall be judged by these rules? How is it that the same test was not applied to all the Miscellaneous Letters? Inferiority of style and talents condemn an Atticus—why not also a Lucius, a Veteran, a Tilbury, a Correggio, and *id genus omne*? Surely the law which banishes one impostor should not allow a score not only to escape all punishment, but to be exalted to titles of honour. Inferiority of style is conclusive evidence against the Miscellaneous Letters generally; and inferiority of style and sentiment will be conclusive evidence against any claim depending on them for proofs of identity. Dr. Johnson said "I should have believed Burke to be Junius, because I know no man but Burke *who was capable of writing these letters*, but Burke spontaneously denied it."

Mr. Woodfall very properly remarks that Atticus could not be written by Junius, "because he attacks statesmen who were never attacked by Junius." Will not the same objection extend to Poplicola and nearly one half of these letters? We cannot be unacquainted with the abuse therein freely bestowed on many eminent statesmen never attacked by Junius. In a subsequent page, we will supply a few facts to show that the most impudent and blackguard language is applied to statesmen never attacked by Junius. I will confine myself at present to one example—*Lord Camden*: "An apostate lawyer, weak enough to sacrifice his own character, and base enough to betray the laws of his country." *Poplicola*. "The laws of England under his feet, and before his distorted vision a dagger, which he calls the law of nature, and which marshals him the way to murder the constitution." *Correggio*. "The assertor of prerogative independent of law." *Atticus*. And letter 17 and 21 "hold him to public odium." These epithets may be compared with *Junius's opinion of Lord Camden* in letter 69. "To the Right Hon. Lord Camden. My Lord—I turn with pleasure from that barren

waste in which no salutary plant takes root, no verdure quickens, to a character fertile, as I willingly believe, in every great and good qualification. I call upon you, in the name of the English nation, to stand forth in the defence of the laws of your country: and to exert, in the cause of truth and justice, those great abilities with which you were entrusted for the benefit of mankind. Your Lordship's character assures me that you will assume that principal part which belongs to you, in supporting the laws of England against a wicked judge, who makes it the occupation of his life to misinterpret and pervert them."

The *only* inference which can be drawn from this comparison, is, that the same writer cannot have published such opposite opinions; consequently, that Junius cannot be identified in Correggio, Poplicola, and Atticus.

It could not have escaped Mr. G. Woodfall's observation, that no private letter was received by his father from Junius before April, 1769, two years after the date of the first Miscellaneous Letter, signed Poplicola; an omission so singular as to persuade an unprejudiced person that Junius was not in correspondence with Mr. Woodfall, senior, either as a public or private writer, prior to the appearance of the first Junius in 1769.

The Miscellaneous Letters signed Poplicola require a particular examination. The prominence of their station, being the 1st and 2d in the order of Mr. G. Woodfall's arrangement, and their "sarcastic exprobratory style," entitle them to it; but I have more powerful motives than these in taking up this investigation.

The letters of Poplicola are at variance with those of Junius on a material question, and wilful or ignorant misrepresentations are visible throughout them. In the second letter, we have the following specimen of "false facts." "Mr. C. D. wilfully misrepresents the cause of that censure which was *very justly thrown upon Lord Chatham*, when the exportation of corn was prohibited by proclamation. The measure itself was necessary, and the more necessary from the scandalous delay of the Ministry in calling the Parliament together; but to maintain that the proclamation was legal, and that there was a suspending power lodged in the Crown, was such an outrage to the common sense of mankind, and such a daring attack upon the constitution, as a free people ought never to forgive. The man who maintained those doctrines ought to have had the Tarpeian rock or a gibbet for his reward. Another gentleman, upon

that occasion, had spirit and patriotism enough to declare, even in a respectable assembly, that when he advised the proclamation, he did it with the strongest conviction of its being illegal; but he rested his defence upon the unavoidable necessity of the case, and submitted himself to the judgment of his country. *This noble* conduct deserved the applause and gratitude of the nation, *while that* of the Earl Chatham, and his miserable understrappers, deserves nothing but detestation and contempt."

On referring to the speech of Lord Chatham on the 9th of January, 1770, and comparing his language with the assertions of Poplicola, we shall have little hesitation in saying that he knowingly stated what was false. His Lordship "was satisfied there was a power in some degree arbitrary with which the constitution entrusted the Crown, to be made use of under correction of the legislature, and at the hazard of the minister, upon any sudden emergency or unforeseen calamity which might threaten the welfare of the people or the safety of the state. That on this principle he had himself advised a measure which *he knew was not strictly legal*; but he had recommended it as a measure of necessity, to save a starving people from famine, and had submitted to the judgment of his country."

We will now turn to the Sixtieth Letter of Junius.

"With regard to Lord Camden, the truth is, that he inadvertently over-shot himself, as appears plainly by that unguarded mention of a tyranny of forty days, which I myself heard. Instead of asserting that the proclamation was legal, he should have said,—'My Lords, the proclamation was illegal, but I advised it, because it was indispensably necessary to save the kingdom from famine; and I submit myself to the justice and mercy of my country.' Such language as this would have been manly, rational, and consistent;—not unfit for a lawyer, and every way worthy of a great man."

In this inquiry we observe Poplicola at variance with Junius, and designedly confounding Lord Chatham with Lord Camden. No one will, I hope, now consider the letters of Poplicola as the productions of Junius. The inequality of composition and style is, I imagine, sufficiently apparent between the Letters of Junius and the Miscellaneous Letters,—an argument decidedly opposed to their being the production of the same mind. Mr. Barker, after contending with Dr. Parr and Mr. Charles Butler that no great inequality of style and composition can proceed

from the same individual, observes—"But I must be permitted to remark that Junius, when he writes under the signature of Junius, is always true to himself; the same spirit, the same vigour, the same mind, the same sarcasm, the same point, the same heart, the same intelligence, the same elegance of thought, the same splendour of diction, the same harmony, pervades every letter." "No man can have read Junius carefully without observing the high-mindedness and pride which belong to his character." Lord Chatham addresses his nephew in the following nervous language:—

'*Finitimis Oratori Poeta.*' "Substitute Tully and Demosthenes in the place of Homer and Virgil; and arm yourself with all the variety of manner, copiousness and beauty of diction, nobleness and magnificence of ideas of the Roman Consul; and under the powers of eloquence, complete by the irresistible torrent of vehement argumentation, the close and forcible reasoning, and the depth and fortitude of mind of the Grecian statesman."

The Editor of the Anniversary Calendar remarks that "this imperial style would not disgrace the page of Junius himself."

But where shall we seek for an eulogium on the Miscellaneous Letters? The Reviewers have manifested great shyness about these Letters. The promises in the Gentleman's Magazine for December, 1812, are yet unfulfilled. In that Number, Mr. Urban pledged himself to continue the Review of Mr. G. Woodfall's edition of Junius;—not a line has been written about them since. If I ventured a guess as to the cause of the omission, it would probably wear the appearance of being an uncharitable one.

The general inattention of literary men to these letters is unaccountably provoking: "The phraseology, the manner, the exprobratory style, independently of any other evidence, sufficiently identifying them as the productions of Junius"!!

The following epithets, applied to the Earl of Chatham, are examples of the *high-mindedness* of the Junius of Mr. G. Woodfall's Miscellaneous Collection.

"A Man purely and perfectly bad—a Traitor—a Traitor hung on a gibbet, (by way of distinction)—a Grand Vizier—an abandoned Profligate—the Patron of Sedition—a Villain, (by way of distinction from) a black Villain—a Madman—a Stalking Horse to a Stallion,

smelling at a Thistle—a Lunatic brandishing a crutch—a Lunatic bawling through a grate—a Lunatic writing with *desperate* charcoal—a Dotard—old Gouty Legs”—*cum multis aliis*.

To comment on these “high-minded” expressions is needless. Junius might probably have remarked—“Every common dauber writes rascal and villain under his pictures, because the pictures themselves have neither character nor resemblance. But the works of a master require no index—his features and colouring are taken from nature—the impression they make is immediate and uniform: Nor is it possible to mistake his characters, whether they represent the treachery of a Minister or the abused simplicity of a King.”

The writer of the preliminary essay to Mr. Woodfall's edition of Junius grasped at too much;—the public should have been spared the expense of purchasing an incongruous collection of letters possessed of no intrinsic merit whatsoever.

In concluding this investigation, I will remark that he must be a bold man, and possess more boldness than judgment, who ventures to contend, unsupported by strong evidence, that the Miscellaneous Letters were written by Junius.

The question of what claim has Lord Chatham to be considered the author of the Letters of Junius, will now be one for serious and attentive investigation.

I will proceed, in the first instance, to examine and compare the political opinions of Lord Chatham and Junius.* If I succeed in producing parallel passages from the writings of Junius and the speeches of Lord Chatham, I shall have laid a foundation on which I shall be able to erect a substantial and durable claim for his Lordship to the authorship of those Letters. Take the following:—

JUNIUS.—“I too have a claim to the candid interpretation of my country, when I acknowledge an involuntary compulsive assent to one very unpopular opinion. I lament the unhappy necessity, whenever it arises, of providing for the safety of the state by a *temporary invasion of the personal liberty of the subject*. Would to God it were practicable

* The great object is to connect the rival claimants, with the various personal opinions, prejudices, and, above all, spleens of Junius. Here is in reality the most difficult part of the business.”—Blackwood's Magazine, Vol. XVIII. p. 168.

to reconcile these important objects in every possible situation of public affairs! The community has a right to command, as well as to purchase, the service of its members. I see that right founded originally upon a necessity which supersedes all argument. I see it established by usage immemorial, &c.”*

LORD CHATHAM.—“ I willingly take this occasion to declare my opinion upon a question not a very popular one, neither am I running the race of popularity. I am myself clearly convinced that without impressing, it is impossible to equip a respectable fleet. I do not rest my opinion merely upon necessity. I am satisfied that the *power of impression* is *founded upon uninterrupted usage*. It is the *consuetudo Regni*, and part of the common law prerogative of the Crown.”† ‡

JUNIUS.—“ His Majesty proceeds to assure us that ‘ he has made the laws the rule of his conduct.’ Was it in ordering or permitting his Ministers to apprehend Mr. Wilkes by a *general warrant*? General warrants, it is true, had been often issued, but they had never been regularly questioned or resisted till the case of Mr. Wilkes; he brought them to trial, and the moment they were tried, they were declared illegal.”—Letter 41.

CHATHAM.—“ Ministers had refused to lay the warrant before the House, because they were conscious of its illegality. Neither the Law Officers of the Crown, nor the Minister himself, had attempted to defend the legality of this warrant. He therefore did not hesitate to say that there was not a man to be found of sufficient profligacy to defend this warrant upon the principle of legality. It was no justification, he said, that *general warrants* had been issued.”—Parl. Hist. Vol. XV. p. 1402.

JUNIUS TO THE KING.—“ Are *you* a Prince of the House of Hanover—and do you exclude all the leading Whig families from your

* Letter 59.

† Gent. Mag. Vol. XL. p. 573.

‡ Dr. Parr directed the attention of Mr. Barker to a letter about Junius in the Morning Chronicle, Dec. 26, 1812, where the following words occur:—“ It is not a little remarkable that both Junius and Lord Chatham should have expressed the same unpopular opinion respecting the legality of press warrants;—a deviation from their general system almost unaccountable in two men professing so strong an attachment to the liberty of the subject, and who so commonly appealed to popular feelings.”—Letters on the author of Junius, p. 281.

councils? Do *you* profess to govern according to law;—and is it consistent with that profession to impart your confidence and affection to those men only who, though now perhaps detached from the desperate cause of the Pretender, are marked in this country by an hereditary attachment to high and arbitrary principles of government?" Junius writes to Lord Mansfield—"In your earlier days you were but little infected with the prudence of your country—you had some original attachments which you took every proper opportunity to acknowledge. The liberal spirit of youth prevailed over your native discretion. *Your zeal in the cause of an unhappy Prince* (the Pretender) was expressed with the sincerity of wine and some of the solemnities of religion."—Letter 41.

CHATHAM.—"I cannot avoid seeing some capital errors in the distribution of the royal favour. There are men, my Lords, who, if their own services were forgotten, ought to have an hereditary merit with the House of Hanover; whose ancestors stood forth in the day of trouble, opposed their persons and fortunes to treachery and rebellion, and secured to his Majesty's family this splendid power of rewarding. There are other men, my Lords, (looking sternly and shaking his fist at Lord Mansfield) who, to speak tenderly of them, were not quite so forward in the demonstrations of their zeal to the reigning family; *there was another cause*, my Lords, and a partiality to it, which some persons had not, at all times, discretion enough to conceal."—Parl. Hist. vol. 16, p. 1107.

JUNIUS.—"There is no statute existing by which the *specific disability** is created. There is no precedent in all the proceedings of the House of Commons which comes entirely home to the present case. An attempt has been made, not merely to rob a single county of its rights, but, by inevitable consequences, to alter the constitution of the House of Commons. This fatal attempt has succeeded, and stands a precedent, recorded for ever."—Letter 16.

"Mr. Walpole's incapacity (to sit as a member of the House of Commons) arose from the crimes he had committed, not from the punishment the House annexed to them."—Letter 20.

* The specific disability was—"The expulsion of a member of the House of Commons, of itself, creates in him such an incapacity to be re-elected, that at a subsequent election any votes given to him are null and void."—Junius, Letter 16.

" But Junius has a great authority to support him, which, to speak with the Duke of Grafton, I accidentally met with this morning in the course of my reading. It contains an admonition which cannot be repeated too often. Lord Somers, in his excellent tract upon the rights of the people makes this observation," &c.—Letter 46.

LORD CHATHAM'S SPEECH.—" Now, my Lords, I affirm, and am ready to maintain, that the late decision of the House of Commons, upon the Middlesex election, is destitute of every one of those properties and conditions which I hold to be essential to the legality of such a decision. It is not founded in reason, for it carries with it a contradiction, that the representative should perform the office of the constituent body. It is not supported by a single precedent ; for the case of Sir R. Walpole is but a half precedent, and even that half is imperfect. His incapacity was indeed declared, but his crimes are stated as the ground of the resolution, and his opponent was declared to be not duly elected, even after his incapacity was established." " His Lordship quoted Lord Somers in support of his law ; he called him an honest man, who knew and loved the English constitution."—Parl. Hist. vol. 16, p. 661.

JUNIUS.—" I can more readily admire the liberal spirit and integrity, than the sound judgment, of any man who prefers a republican form of government, in this or any other empire of equal extent, to a *monarchy* so qualified and limited as our's. I am convinced that neither is it in theory the wisest system of government nor practicable in this country."

LORD CHATHAM.—" I revere the just prerogative of the Crown. I acknowledge the just power and reverence the constitution of the House of Commons. The constitution of this country depends upon *King, Lords, and Commons*, and which, by their power, are a balance to each other."

JUNIUS.—" The power of King, Lords, and Commons is not an arbitrary power. The power of the Legislature is limited, not only by the general rules of natural justice and the welfare of the community, but by the forms and principles of our particular constitution. If this doctrine be not true, we must admit that King, Lords, and Commons have no rule to direct their resolutions, but merely their own will and pleasure. They unite the legislative and executive power in the same hands, and dissolve the constitution by an Act of Parliament. But I am persuaded you will not leave it to the choice of seven hundred persons, notoriously corrupted by the Crown, whether seven millions of their equals shall be freemen or slaves."—Dedication to the Letters, p. 5.

CHATHAM.—"The House of Commons, we are told, have a supreme jurisdiction, that there is no appeal from their sentence. We all know what the constitution is—we all know that the first principle of it is, that the subject shall not be governed by the arbitrium of any one man, or body of men (less than the whole Legislature,) but by certain laws, to which he has virtually given his consent, which are open to him to examine, and not beyond his ability to understand. Let us consider which we ought to respect most, the representative or the collective body of the people. My Lords, five hundred gentlemen are not ten millions; and if we must have a constitution, let us take care to have the English nation on our side. If the freeholders of England desert their own cause, they deserve to be slaves."—*Parl. Hist.* vol. 16, p. 659.

JUNIUS.—"I am no friend to the doctrine of precedents exclusive of right, though lawyers often tell us that whatever has been once done, may lawfully be done again."—*Preface to Junius's Letters*, p. 45.

CHATHAM.—"With respect to the decision of the courts of justice, I am far from denying their due weight and authority; yet, placing them in the most respectable view, I still consider them not as law, but as an evidence of the law; and before they can arrive at even that degree of authority, it must appear that they are founded in and confirmed by reason—that they do not violate the spirit of the constitution. The justice of the measure is superior to the force of precedents."—*Parl. Hist.* pp. 661, 958.

JUNIUS.—"The people of Ireland have been uniformly plundered and oppressed. In return, they give you every day fresh marks of their resentment. It is not from the alienated affections of Ireland or America that you can reasonably look for assistance, still less from the people of England."—*Letter 35*.

CHATHAM.—"Ireland has various reasons to complain;—you may judge of their number and magnitude by the present flame. The fact is, that Great Britain, Ireland, and America are equally dissatisfied, and have reason to be dissatisfied, with the present Ministry."—*Parl. Hist.* vol. 17, p. 220.

JUNIUS.—"The affray in St. George's Fields, at the contest for the Middlesex election in 1769, when Clarke was killed by Edward M'Quirk, is described as "wretches butchered by the Guards," and M'Quirk is called 'a monster.'—*Letter 8*.

CHATHAM.—“The measures taken to carry the Middlesex election in favour of the court, the decision of that election, the murders in St. George’s Fields,” &c. &c.—Parl. Hist. vol. 17, p. 221.

JUNIUS TO WILKES.—“Whenever the question shall be seriously agitated, I will endeavour (and if I live I will assuredly attempt it,) to convince the English nation by arguments, to my understanding unanswerable, that they ought to insist upon a *triennial*, and banish the idea of an annual Parliament.” “Lord Chatham’s project of increasing the number of Knights of Shires appears to me admirable, and the moment we have obtained a triennial Parliament, it ought to be tried.”

RECORDED OPINION OF LORD CHATHAM.—“With the most deliberate and solemn conviction to his understanding, he now declared himself a convert to *triennial* Parliaments.”—Parl. Hist. vol. 17, p. 223.

JUNIUS TO WILKES.—“I do most earnestly wish that you would consider of, and promote a plan for, forming *constitutional clubs* all through the kingdom. A measure of this kind would alarm Government more, and be of more essential service to the cause, than any thing that can be done relative to new-modelling the House of Commons.”

LORD CHATHAM.—“The Americans, sore under injuries, and irritated by wrongs, stript of their inborn rights and dearest privileges, have resisted, and entered into *associations*, for the preservation of that blessing to which life and property are but secondary considerations; associations prompted by no other motive than that glorious and exalted one, the preservation of their common liberties.”—Gent. Mag. v. 25, p. 7.

JUNIUS.—“As to cutting away the *rotten boroughs*, I am as much offended as any man at seeing so many of them under the direct influence of the crown, or at the disposal of private persons; yet I own I have both doubts and apprehensions in regard to the remedy you propose. I shall be charged, perhaps, with an unusual want of political intrepidity, when I honestly confess to you that I am startled at the idea of so extensive an amputation. In the first place, I question the power *de jure* of the legislature to disfranchise a number of boroughs upon the general ground of improving the constitution. When you propose to cut away the *rotten* parts, can you tell us what parts are perfectly *sound*? Are there any certain limits, in fact or theory, to inform you at what point you must stop,—at what point the mortification ends? I highly approve

of Lord Chatham's idea of infusing a portion of new health into the constitution, to enable it to bear its infirmities."—Letter 69.

LORD CHATHAM.—"The boroughs of this country have properly enough been called the *rotten parts* of the constitution. But in my judgment, these boroughs, corrupt as they are, must be considered as the natural infirmity of the constitution. Like the infirmities of the body, we must bear them with patience, and submit to carry them about with us. The limb is mortified, but the amputation might be death. Let us try whether some gentler remedies may not be discovered. Since we cannot cure the disorder, let us endeavour to infuse such a portion of new health into the constitution as may enable it to support its most inveterate diseases."—Parl. Hist. vol. 16, p. 753.

JUNIUS.—LIBERTY OF THE PRESS.—"Let it be then impressed upon your minds, let it be instilled into your children, that *the Liberty of the Press* is the palladium of all the civil, political, and religious rights of an Englishman. The liberty of the press is our only resource; it will command an audience when every honest man in the kingdom is excluded."—Dedication and Preface to Letters.

CHATHAM.—"The circumstances had justly alarmed the nation, and made them uncommonly attentive to the operations of Parliament. Hence the publication of the parliamentary debates. And where was the injury, if the members acted upon honest principles? For a public assembly to be afraid of having their deliberations published, is monstrous and speaks for itself. Not satisfied, however, with shutting their doors, the Commons would overturn *the liberty of the press*. The printers had spirit, and resisted. The irritated Commons exerted their privilege above the laws of the land, and their servants acted illegally in the execution of their illegal orders."—Parl. Hist. vol. 16, p. 221.*

* Chiefly by the exertions of Mr. Burke in the contest between the House of Commons and the Magistrates of the City, the Government were compelled tacitly to concede the privilege, against which they had long and zealously contended, of publishing the debates and proceedings in Parliament. Lord Chatham had probably opened the way to it by the peculiar force of his character, by the original and impressive nature of his eloquence, and still more by the example, so rare before his career, of elevation to the highest power and honours of the state, founded solely on personal merit and Parliamentary usage.—Quar. Rev. vol. 34, 465, 477.

JUNIUS TO THE KING.—"How long, and to what extent, a King of England may be protected by the forms when he violates the spirit of the constitution, deserves to be considered. A mistake in this matter proved fatal to Charles and his son. You have no enemies, Sir, but those who persuade you to aim at power without right. Sir, the man who addresses you in these terms is your best friend, he would willingly hazard his life in defence of your title to the crown."

CHATHAM.—"I know that when the liberty of the subject is invaded, and all redress denied him, resistance is justified. Power without right is the most odious and detestable object that can be offered to the human imagination; it is not only pernicious to those who are subject to it, but it tends to its own destruction. Unlimited power is apt to corrupt the minds of those who possess it; and this I know, my Lords, that where law ends, tyranny begins. I revere the just prerogative of the Crown, and would contend for it as warmly as for the rights of the people. I esteem the King in his personal capacity, I revere him in his political one." *Parl. Hist.* vol. 16, pp. 359, 650, 748.

"It has been a subject for remark and regret that Junius should believe that the constitution allows him to regard the reigning prince as occasionally culpable in his own person. To few people, perhaps, in the present day, will his reasons carry conviction. But, bating this single opinion, his view of the principles and powers of the constitution appears to be equally correct and perspicuous."

To have proved that Lord Chatham and Junius were perfectly agreed in opinion on this important question, is highly *satisfactory* to my argument, but the full value of the parallel will be more apparent if we consider that it is impossible to bring forward another individual, (answering in all other essential points,) contemporary with Junius, except Lord Chatham, who acknowledged that the constitution allows a subject the right of resistance on particular occasions.

The religious opinions of Junius have afforded matter for controversy. By some "he has been accused of deism and atheism, by others he has been conceived to be a dissenter. To judge from the passages in his writings, he appears to have been a Christian upon the most sincere conviction; one of whose chief objects was to defend the religion established by law. To the religion of the court it must be confessed that he was no friend."

If I have the requisite labour to collect the passages in the Letters of Junius bearing on the subject of religion it will be sufficient—the charge of atheism, deism, or sectarianism, is quite irrelevant to our inquiry.

“ Divided as the Americans are into a thousand forms of policy and religion, there is one point on which they all agree:—they equally detest the pageantry of a King, and the supercilious hypocrisy of a Bishop.”
 “ His Majesty’s predecessors had some generous qualities in their composition, with vices, I confess, or frailties in abundance. They were kings or gentlemen, not hypocrites or priests. They were at the head of the Church, but did not know the value of their office. They said their prayers without ceremony, and had too little priestcraft in their undertakings to reconcile the sanctimonious forms of religion with the destruction of the morality of the people.”

“ The fundamental principles of Christianity may still be preserved, though every zealous sectary adheres to his own exclusive doctrine, and pious Ecclesiastics make it part of their religion to persecute one another.”

“ If I thought Junius capable of uttering a disrespectful word of the religion of his country, I should be the first to renounce and give him up to the public contempt and indignation. As a man, I am satisfied that he is a Christian upon the most sincere conviction. As a writer, he would be grossly inconsistent with his political principles if he dared to attack a religion established by those laws which it seems to be the purpose of his life to defend. Critics never remember any thing he says in honour of our holy religion ; though it is true that one of his leading arguments is made to rest *upon the internal evidence which the purest of all religion carries with it*. I quote his words, and conclude from them that he is a true and hearty Christian, in substance, not in ceremony ; though possibly he may not agree with my Reverend Lords the Bishops, or with the Head of the Church, *that prayers are morality, or that kneeling is religion*.”—Letters 39, 55, 57, 59.

The contumelious epithets selected by Junius, when speaking of the forms and ceremonies of our religion, are sadly at variance with Mr. Woodfall’s assertion “ that he defended the religion established by law.” With this, however, I am less interested than in producing a parallel to Junius’s religious opinions in the sentiments of Lord Chatham. That his Lordship was neither deist, atheist, nor sectarian, is a fact requiring no proof from me to substantiate ; he was an acknowledged and professed member of the Church of England ;—how “ he defended the religion

established by law," may be inferred from certain expressions which we will now notice. "When any doubts," says Lord Chatham, "in point of faith arises, or any question of controversy is started, we must appeal at once to the great source and evidence of our religion—the Holy Bible."

In replying to one of the Bishops who had spoken a great deal of the dogmas of foreign colleges, he said "there was a college of much greater antiquity, as well as veracity, which he was surprised he never heard so much as mentioned by any of his Lordship's fraternity; and that was, the college of the poor, humble, despised fishermen, who pressed hard upon no man's conscience, yet supported the doctrine of Christianity both by their lives and conversations superior to all; but, my Lords, probably I may affront your rank or learning, by applying to such simple, antiquated authorities; for I must confess there is a wide difference between the Bishops of those times and the present. He recommended and defended the Bill for the Relief of Protestant Dissenters, on the general principles of a liberal toleration."—*Parl. Hist.* vol. 17, p. 441.

"I am fully convinced that religion has really nothing to do in the dispute; but the people without doors have been made to believe it has; and upon this the old High Church persecuting spirit has begun to take hold of them."—*Parl. Hist.* vol. 15, p. 154.

"He did not deserve to be ranked among the human species;—he was a blasphemer of God."—(*Parl. Hist.* vol. 15, p. 1364.)—"In ancient days, the Crown, the Barons, and the Clergy, possessed the lands;—the Church (God bless it) has now but a pittance."—(*Parl. Hist.* vol. 16, p. 99.)—"She pledged herself to set on foot an inquiry in order to discover who were the authors and advisers of letting loose the blood-hounds and hell-hounds, the savages of America, upon our brethren there. It shall be a kind of lustrum to cleanse and purify the nation from the odious guilt of those horrid barbarities. You, my Lords, the Bishops, I trust, will assist in this pious work; and you my Learned Lords, who are both the constitutional guardians and interpreters of the laws, (addressing himself to the Lord Chancellor and Lord Mansfield,) will not, I trust, be wanting. I shall implore the aid of the lawn sleeves and ermine on that occasion; we shall then be assisted by the lawn and ermine, by innocence and wisdom; we shall have the pious assistance of that learned bench, and the no less constitutional and efficacious aid of the sages of the law—of our right reverend and most learned brethren on

both sides of the House—in dragging the authors of this satanic measure into broad day-light, and inflicting on them the most exemplary and condign punishment.”

An attentive and impartial consideration of such remarkable coincidences of thought, opinion, and style, on a subject which is generally avoided, as well by political writers as statesmen, will produce, in every unbiassed mind, an impression favourable to the argument I am attempting to establish; yet, I would cautiously abstain from placing too much reliance on mere similarity of opinions. The question of who was Junius, is too complicated to be determined by so simple and easy a plan of investigation.

An experienced writer remarks—“Numerous coincidences in respect to thought and style, notions and opinions, views and doctrines, may be traced between Junius and *any great man* like Burke; and he who is at the pains of collecting them, conceives that he has established his hypothesis in favour of a particular individual—this is a fatal mistake.”

The individual selected for the comparison is an unfortunate one; and the phrase, “*any great man*,” can scarcely be termed a tangible argument;—the indefinite nature of the expression proves nothing. If I could bend to the authority of names, I would yield to Mr. Barker. The political creed of the Whigs might, indeed, be confined to certain prescribed dogmas to which every individual of the party was expected to assent; yet within these bounds there were many shades of difference of opinion. When, therefore, we say that Junius was a Whig, we mean that in political principles he agreed with the *fundamental* opinions of the Whigs. We do not wish to imply that he could, Proteus like, accommodate himself to every varying fashion of political doctrine. Lords Rockingham, Camden, Chatham, Mr. G. Grenville, and Mr. Wilkes, were Whigs; yet, “in views and doctrines, in thought and style,” they were opposed to each other.

Our inquiries must be directed to ascertain what *peculiar sentiments* Junius maintained not generally acknowledged by the Whigs. With one, he was at variance on the Stamp-Act; with another, about Triennial Parliaments; with a third, Mr. Wilkes was a subject for disagreement; and with those who came nearest to him in general and particular opinions, a difference on some points might be

observed.* Such an investigation may possibly terminate in our ascertaining that one great man can be identified in *all* the opinions of Junius, and, at any rate, it will assist our future researches on this intricate question.

JUNIUS—ON THE STATE OF THE NATION.—"The situation of this country is alarming enough to rouse the attention of every man who pretends to a concern for the public welfare. The ruin or prosperity of a state depends so much upon the administration of its government, that, to be acquainted with the merit of a ministry, we need only observe the condition of the people. If we see them obedient to the laws, prosperous in their industry, united at home, and respected abroad, we may reasonably presume that their affairs are conducted by men of experience, abilities, and virtue. If, on the contrary, we see an universal spirit of distrust and dissatisfaction, a rapid decay of trade, dissensions in all parts of the empire, and a total loss of respect in the eyes of foreign powers, we may pronounce, without hesitation, that the government of that country is weak, distracted, and corrupt. Perhaps there never was an instance of a change in the circumstances and temper of a whole nation so sudden and extraordinary as that which the misconduct of ministers has within these very few years produced in Great Britain. When our gracious sovereign ascended the throne, we were a flourishing and a contented people. After a rapid succession of changes, we are reduced to that state which hardly any change can mend. The finances of the nation are sinking under its debt and expenses. As to the debt upon the civil list, the people of England expect that it will not be paid without a strict inquiry how it was incurred. The manner in which the late debt upon

* "Chatham, and Rockingham, and Savile, the fathers of our political church, cannot agree about the bounds which ought to be set to the duration of Parliament. The first is become a convert to a triennial seat; the two last still remain infidels; and Burke, their orator and pamphleteer, for an obvious reason, contends for the same doctrine. Chatham declares that we have no right to tax the Americans; the Rockinghamites assert that we have, but ought not to exercise the right. Chatham affirms that pressing is the right hand of the constitution; Wilkes insists that it is the worst species of general warrants. Thus are the patriots at daggers drawing among themselves."—*Polit. Reg.* 1771.

the civil list was pretended to be incurred, and really paid, demands a particular examination ;—never was there a more impudent outrage offered to a patient people.”—(Junius to Wilkes.)—“ In one view, behold a nation overwhelmed with debt ; her revenues wasted ; her trade declining ; the affections of her colonies alienated ; the duty of the magistrate transferred to the soldiery : a gallant army, which never fought unwillingly but against their fellow-subjects, mouldering away for want of the direction of a man of common abilities and spirit ; and, in the last instance, the administration of justice becomes odious and suspected to the whole body of the people.”—Letter 1.

CHATHAM—ON THE STATE OF THE NATION.—“ This is no time for silence or reserve. If we do not stand forth and do our duty in the present crisis, the nation is irretrievably undone. I mean to rouse, to alarm the whole nation—to rouse the ministry, if possible, who seem to awake to nothing but the preservation of their places—to awaken the king. It was particularly their duty, at a crisis of such importance and danger, to lay before their sovereign the true state and condition of his subjects, the discontent which universally prevailed amongst them, the distresses under which they laboured, the injuries they complained of, and the true causes of this unhappy state of affairs. Distractions and divisions prevail in every part of the empire. Will any man deny that discontents prevail in many parts of his Majesty’s dominions ? The kingdom is in a flame. It is not many years since this nation was the envy and terror of its neighbours ; alone and unassisted it seemed to balance the half of Europe. Nor was the aspect of its affairs abroad more flattering than at home. Concord and unanimity prevailed throughout the whole extent of the British Empire. No complaints, no murmurs were heard. No petitions, much less remonstrances for redress of grievances, were carried up to the throne, nor were hired mobs necessary to keep the sovereign in countenance by their venal shouts. But how is the prospect darkened ! how are the mighty fallen ! The complexion of our government has been materially altered ; and I can trace the origin of the alteration up to a period which ought to have been an æra of happiness and prosperity to this country.

“ The payment of the immense debt contracted by the Crown without inspecting any account alarmed the nation. Have any measures been taken to satisfy, or to unite the people ? Are the grievances they have so long complained of, removed ? or do they stand not only unredressed

but aggravated? Is the right of free election restored to the elective body? The ministry by a series of oppressive, unconstitutional measures, have destroyed all content and unanimity at home and have betrayed the honour of the nation to private emolument. The liberty of the subject is invaded, not only in provinces, but here at home.”*

Throughout the whole of Junius, and of Lord Chatham's speeches, there is a feeling of despondency for the public weal.

JUNIUS—ON THE SEIZURE OF THE FALKLAND ISLANDS.—“The system of government is uniform. Violence and oppression at home can only be supported by treachery and submission abroad. When the civil rights of the people are daringly invaded on one side, what have we to expect, but that their political rights should be deserted and betrayed in the same proportion by the other. The plan of domestic policy, which has been invariably pursued from the moment of his present Majesty's succession, engrosses all the attention of his servants. They know that the security of their places depends upon their maintaining, at any hazard, the secret system of the closet. Whether or no there be a *secret system* in the closet, and what may be the object of it, are questions which can only be determined by appearances, and on which every man must decide for himself.

“The King of Great Britain had been for some years in possession of Falkland Island, to which, as the ministry themselves have repeatedly asserted, the Spaniards had no claim or right. A military force (from Spain) appears, and compels the garrison to surrender. Instead of immediate restitution we have a four months negotiation. An open act of hostility, authorized by the Catholic King, is *an act of the governor*. When the first magistrate speaks to the nation, some care should be taken of his apparent veracity. Have we any security that the peace we have so dearly purchased will last a twelvemonth? and if not, have we or have we not, sacrificed the fairest opportunity of making war with advantage? We might have dictated the law to Spain.”—Junius, Letter 42.

“Without regarding the language of ignorant or interested people, depend upon the assurance I give you, that every man in administration looks upon war as inevitable.”—Private Letter to Woodfall, 28.

* Lord Chatham's speech in the House of Lords in 1770, as reported in Parl. Hist. vol. 16, and Gent. Mag. for that year.

"Junius does not speak of the *Spanish nation* as the *natural enemies* of England. He applies that description with the strictest truth and justice to the Spanish Court."—Philo-Junius, Letter 43.

CHATHAM—ON THE SEIZURE OF THE FALKLAND ISLANDS.—

"Something must be done, my Lords, and immediately, to save an injured, insulted, undone country. If not to save the state, at least to mark out and drag to public justice those servants of the crown by whose ignorance, neglect, or treachery, this once great flourishing people are reduced to a condition as deplorable at home as it is despicable abroad. Examples are wanted, my Lords, and should be given to the world, for the instruction of future times, even though they be useless to ourselves. Before this country the ministers stand as the greatest criminals. Such I will prove them to be. I doubt not, my Lords, that there are some important mysteries in the conduct of this affair (the surrender of Falkland Islands) which, whenever they are explained, will account for the profound silence now observed by the king's servants. The time will come, when they shall be dragged from their concealments.

"A foreign power has forcibly robbed his Majesty of a part of his dominions. Is the Island restored? Are you placed in statu quo? If that had been done, it might then perhaps have been justifiable to treat with the aggressor upon the satisfaction he ought to make for the insult offered to the Crown of England. But you make it matter of negotiation whether his Majesty's possessions shall be restored to him or not. The Court of Spain *has not* disavowed the act of their governor. His Majesty has been advised to confirm and give currency to an absolute falsehood. I am well acquainted with the character of the Spanish nation, at least as far as it is represented by their court and ministry. With their ministers I have often been obliged to negotiate, and never met with an instance of candour and dignity in their proceedings; nothing but low cunning, trick, and artifice. After a long experience of their want of candour and good faith, I found myself compelled to talk to them in peremptory and decisive language. I submitted my advice to a trembling Council for an immediate declaration of war with Spain. It has been thought advisable to negotiate with the Court of Spain. We are not in that situation in which a great and powerful nation is permitted to negotiate. I know where this honourable negotiation *will* end—where it *must* end. We may perhaps be able to patch up an accommodation for the present, but we shall have a Spanish war in six months."

In the assurance of Junius, and in the assertion of Lord Chatham, we have an incorrect statement. The predicted Spanish war did not take place. It may seem trifling with the subject to allude to such apparently unimportant coincident opinions; but recollecting the general accuracy of the statements made by Junius, and the facilities of obtaining correct information possessed by Lord Chatham, we are prepared to attach a proper value to this parallel.

REMONSTRANCE OF THE CITY, 1770.—“The city of London have expressed their sentiments with freedom and firmness. They have spoken truth boldly; and in whatever light their remonstrance may be represented by courtiers, I defy the most subtle lawyer in this country to point out a single instance in which they have exceeded the truth.” Junius, Letters 41 and 42.

CHATHAM.—“Debate in the Lords on the Earl of Chatham’s motion touching the King’s answer to the remonstrance of the city of London.” Parl. Hist. vol. 16, p. 966. His Lordship maintained the justice of the petition, and adopted the same line of argument as in Junius’s 41st and 42d Letter.*

The coincidence of opinion on this subject is important;—Mr. Grenville was opposed to the remonstrance.

JUNIUS TO WILKES.—“I would have the right of Juries to return a general verdict in all cases whatsoever, considered as a part of the constitution, fundamental, sacred, and no more questionable by the legislature than whether the government of the country shall be in King, Lords, and Commons.”

* The Edinburgh Reviewer for June, 1826, is surprised at “the extravagantly disproportioned interest taken by *Junius* in any petty intrigue of aldermen and sheriffs which touched that celebrated adventurer (Wilkes).” And Mr. Barker frankly acknowledges that “this part of the mystery still needs explanation.” A reference to Lord Chatham’s speech on the 4th of May, 1770, “on the King’s answer to the city remonstrance,” will afford Mr. Barker and the Edinburgh Reviewers the desired information. His Lordship says—“When I mentioned *the livery of London*, I thought I saw a *smile of ridicule* upon some faces, as if they were a body too insignificant for attention in this assembly; let me, however, declare that, though I have the honour to be a Member of this House, I think my character exalted by concurring in the cause of liberty with such virtuous citizens.”—Parl. Hist. vol. 16, p. 968.

CHATHAM.—“ Lord Chatham stood up again, and said that if he conceived the Noble Lord on the Woolsack right, the doctrine was ‘ that a libel, or not a libel, was a matter of law, and was to be decided by the bench ; and the question to be left to the jury to determine was only the fact of printing and publishing ;’ to which Lord Mansfield assented. Lord Chatham then expressed his astonishment, declaring that he had never understood that to be the law of England.”—Parl. Hist. vol. 16, p. 1305.

JUNIUS.—“ We owe it to our ancestors to preserve entire those rights which they have delivered to our care : we owe it to our posterity not to suffer their dearest inheritance to be destroyed.”—Letter 20.

CHATHAM.—“ There is one ambition at least which I ever will acknowledge—which I will not renounce but with my life. It is the ambition of delivering to my posterity those rights of freedom which I have received from my ancestors.”

JUNIUS.—“ The noble spirit of the metropolis is the life-blood of the state, collected at the heart ; from that point it circulates with health and vigour through every artery of the constitution. The liberty, the laws, and property of an Englishman have in truth but one neck ; to violate the freedom of election, strikes deeply at them all.”—Letters 37 and 43.

CHATHAM.—“ The right of election is the vital circulation in the body politic ;—stop it, and we are politically destroyed.”

JUNIUS.—“ No man regards an eruption on the surface when the noble parts are invaded, and he feels a mortification approaching to his heart.”—Letter 39.

CHATHAM.—“ They were ebullitions of liberty which broke out upon the skin, and were a sign, if not of perfect health, at least of vigorous constitution, and must not be driven in too suddenly lest they should strike to the heart.”

JUNIUS.—“ The rays of royal indignation, collected upon Mr. Wilkes, served only to illuminate and could not consume. Is this a contention worthy of a King ?”—Letter 35.

CHATHAM.—“ It was solely to the measures of government, equally violent and absurd, that Mr. Wilkes owed all his importance.”—Anecdotes of the Life of Lord Chatham, vol. 2, p. 101.

JUNIUS TO WOODFALL.—“ By way of intelligence, you may inform the public that Mr. De la Fontaine, for *his secret services in the alley*, is appointed Barrack Master to the Savoy.”

LORD CHATHAM.—"There is a set of men, my Lords, in the city of London who are known to live in riot and luxury upon the plunder of that part of the community which stands most in need of, and best deserve, the care and protection of Parliament. To me, my Lords, whether they be miserable jobbers of Change Alley, or the lofty Asiatic plunderers of Leadenhall-street, they are equally detestable."—Gent. Mag. vol. 40, p. 575.

JUNIUS TO THE KING.—"It is not from the alienated affections of America that you can reasonably look for assistance. The Americans left their native land in search of freedom, and found it in a desert."

LORD CHATHAM.—"The Americans purchased their liberty at a dear rate, since they quitted their native country, and went in search of freedom to a desert."—Parl. Hist. vol. 16, p. 650.

JUNIUS TO THE KING.—"When it was proposed to settle the present King's household as Prince of Wales, it is well known that the Earl of Bute was forced into it, in direct contradiction to the late King's inclination. *That* was the salient point from which all the mischiefs and disgraces of the present reign took life and motion. From that moment Lord Bute never suffered the Prince of Wales to be an instant out of his sight. We need not look farther."—Note.

"The plan of domestic policy which has been invariably pursued from the moment of his present Majesty's accession, engrosses all the attention of his servants. They know that the security of their places depends upon their maintaining, at any hazard, the *secret system of the closet*."

"His Majesty, God bless him! has now got rid of every man whose former services or present scruples could be supposed to give offence to her Royal Highness the Princess Dowager of Wales. She has succeeded in disuniting every party and dissolving every connexion; and, by the mere influence of the Crown, has formed an administration, such as it is, out of the refuse of them all."

"If I were to characterise the present Ministry from any single virtue which shines predominant in their administration, I should fix upon *duplicity* as the proper word to express it."—Letters 21, 35, 42, and 87.

LORD CHATHAM.—"Lord Chatham complained strongly of the secret influence of the Earl of Bute, which had prevented there having been any original minister since the accession of his present Majesty—he

spoke of the secret influence of an invisible power. 'All the obstacles and difficulties which attended every great and public measure, were suggested, nourished, and supported by that secret influence I have mentioned; first by secret treachery—then by official influence—afterwards in public councils. A long train of such practice has at length unwillingly convinced me that there is something behind the throne greater than the King himself.'—Parl. Hist. vol. 16, p. 843.

JUNIUS.—“Be assured that the laws which protect us in our civil rights grow out of the constitution.”—Dedication, p. 3.

CHATHAM'S SPEECH.—“It is the constitution, and *it* alone, that limits sovereignty and allegiance.”—Gent. Mag. vol. 45, p. 7.

JUNIUS.—“We now see the Chancellor of Great Britain (Lord Camden) tyrannically forced out of his office, not for want of abilities, nor for want of integrity, or of attention to his duty, but for delivering his honest opinions in Parliament upon the greatest constitutional question that has arisen since the revolution.”—Letter 36.

CHATHAM'S SPEECH.—“I recommended Lord Camden to be Chancellor—his public and private virtues were acknowledged by all—they made his station precarious. My suspicions have been justified. His integrity has made him once more a poor and private man; he was dismissed for the vote he gave in favour of the right of election in the people.”—Parl. Hist. vol. 16, p. 850.

The arguments of Lord Chatham on the 19th of January, 1770, had so powerful an effect on the mind of Lord Camden, then Chancellor, that he rose in his place in the House of Lords, and with the greatest animation said “that he had accepted the seals without any condition; that he meant not, therefore, to be trammelled by his Majesty—I beg pardon, said he—by his Ministers; that he had suffered himself to be so too long; that, for some time, he had beheld with silent indignation, the arbitrary measures which were pursuing by the Ministers; *that he had often drooped down and hung his head in council*, and disapproved, by his looks, those steps which he knew his avowed opposition could not prevent; that, however, *he would do so no longer, but would openly and boldly speak his sentiments.*”—Parl. Hist. vol. 16, p. 644.*

* Mr. Barker, p. 36, asks “what *private* reason Junius had for panegyrising Lord Camden?” “But, says Mr. B., it may be worth while to consider whether any of the other persons, marked out as the

"As to his (Lord Granby) servile submission to the reigning Ministry, let me ask whether he did not desert the cause of the whole army when he suffered *Sir Jeffery Amherst* to be sacrificed, and what share he had in recalling that officer to the service."—Junius, Letter 40.

Almon informs us that "*Sir Jeffery* (afterwards Lord) *Amherst* had always been the friend and favourite of the Earl of Chatham, and he was therefore made choice of to be the sacrifice to make room for Lord Bottetourt." "With respect to the navy, I shall only say that this country is so highly indebted to *Sir Edward Hawke*, that no expense should be spared to secure to him an honourable and affluent retreat."—Junius, Letter 1.

Almon says "*Sir Edward Hawke* was the favourite admiral of Lord Chatham."

JUNIUS, CHATHAM, AND THE DUKE OF GRAFTON.—No one can fail to notice in the Letters of Junius a bitterness of expression and a feeling of personal dislike in every reference to the Duke of Grafton; and in the speeches of Lord Chatham after the year 1768 are evident indications of disappointment, mortification, and ill-suppressed anger, and more sensitively shewn when his Lordship speaks of his Grace.

It will be an inquiry of no trivial importance to search for the cause of the personal hostility expressed by Junius to the Duke of Grafton. In a subsequent page I propose to give an outline of the state of political parties from the accession of George III. to the year 1770. It will, however, be now necessary to refer to particular transactions which more immediately relate to the subject of this portion of my inquiry.

At the close of the Rockingham administration in 1766, "Negotiations were opened by Lord Northington with Mr. Pitt, through the channel of the Duke of Grafton. His Lordship offered Mr. Pitt a *carte-blanche*, and Mr. Pitt was introduced to the King at Richmond. His Majesty confirmed the offer made my Lord Northington, and added that he had no terms to propose—he put himself into Mr. Pitt's hands."

"The Duke of Grafton attached himself to Mr. Pitt; this attachment he publicly avowed in the House of Lords, declaring that he knew

authors of Junius, had any *particular* connection with Lord Camden." I always feel happy to answer *satisfactorily* any question asked by that gentleman.

no man who could give strength and solidity to an administration but Mr. Pitt; and, that under him, he should be willing to serve in any capacity."—*Anecdotes of the Life of Chatham*, vol. 1, p. 316.

For a few months Lord Chatham and the Duke of Grafton were ostensibly good friends; but in the latter end of 1768, when his Lordship's administration terminated, the Duke of Grafton came into power, excluding Lord Chatham from any share in the administration.

An explanation and apology was offered in the House of Lords in 1770 by Lord Chatham "for having recommended the Duke of Grafton to the King as First Lord of the Treasury." This explanation so freely entered into by Lord Chatham I will give, and I particularly request the attention of my readers to it.

"After condemning the conduct of his Majesty's servants in almost every particular, he complained that he had been duped, when he least suspected treachery, at a time when the prospect was fair, and when the appearances of confidence were necessary."

"When I was earnestly called upon for the public service, I came from Somersetshire with wings of zeal; I consented to preserve a peace I abominated; a peace I would not make, but preserve when made. I undertook to support a government by law, but to shield no man from public justice. These terms were accepted; I thought with sincerity accepted. I own I was credulous—I was duped—I was deceived;—for I soon found that there was no original administration to be suffered in this country. The same secret invisible influence still prevailed which had put an end to all the successive administrations as soon as they opposed or declined to act under it."

Here the *Duke of Grafton* rose and said—"I rise to defend the King, though, if I understand rightly the words which have been spoken, they are only the effects of a distempered mind brooding over its own discontents." To which Lord Chatham replied—"I rise, neither to deny, to retract, nor to explain away the words I have spoken. As to the Noble Duke, there was in his conduct, from the time of my being taken ill, a gradual deviation from every thing that had been settled and solemnly agreed to by his Grace, both as to measures and men, till at last there were not left two planks together of the ship which had been originally launched. As to a distempered mind, I have a drawer full of proofs that my principles have never given way to any disease; and that

I have always had sufficient vigour of mind remaining to support them ; and, consequently, to avoid all those snares which, from time to time, have been so artfully laid to take advantage of my state of health : his Grace can witness better than any other man, because he has himself the letters which sufficiently prove it. The conduct of the Noble Duke has convinced me that I am as likely to be deceived as any other man, and as fallible as my betters.”—*Anecdotes of the Life of Chatham*, vol. 2, p. 45. *Parl. Hist.* vol. 16, p. 841.*

This plain and open avowal, from one of the greatest men in the kingdom, must carry conviction to the minds of the most captious, that Lord Chatham had ample cause for his ungovernable anger when the Duke of Grafton's conduct was the subject for consideration.†

The 27th Letter of Junius offers a quotation which shows the writer to have been as imperious as Lord Chatham :—“ Even the Duke of Bedford, insensible as he is, will consult the tranquillity of his life in not provoking the moderation of my temper. If, from profound contempt, I should ever rise into anger, he should soon find that all I have said of him was lenity and compassion.”

The editor of *Blackwood's Magazine*, and the writer of the Preliminary Essay to Woodfall's edition of Junius, admit that “ Junius must

* In the year 1743, Mr. Pitt said “ the extent and complication of political questions is such that no man can justly be ashamed of having been sometimes mistaken in his determinations ; and the propensity of the human mind to confidence and friendship is so great that every man, however cautious, however sagacious or however experienced, is exposed sometimes to the artifices of interest, and the delusions of hypocrisy ; but it is the duty and ought to be the honour of every man to own his mistake whenever he discovers it, and to warn others against those frauds which have been too successfully practised upon himself.” *Gent. Mag.* 1743, p. 131.

† “ In speaking of his political opponents, he frequently assumed the language of mingled scorn and detestation, with a manner so authoritative and bitter, as would not have been tolerated for a moment in any man but himself ; nor was his conduct towards those with whom he acted in politics, especially towards his colleagues, when he was in office, conciliatory or even respectful.”—*Retros. Rev.* vol. 7, p. 359.

have been a man who had some reasons of gigantic force for hating the chief members of the British government at the time, with not merely a political but a personal rancour."

Let us now examine the language addressed by Junius to the Duke of Grafton :—

"Without much political sagacity, or any extraordinary depth of observation, we need only mark how the principal departments of the state are bestowed, and look no farther for the true cause of every mischief that befalls us. The finances of a nation, sinking under its debts and expences, are committed to a young nobleman already ruined by play.* Introduced to act under the auspices of Lord Chatham, and left at the head of affairs by that nobleman's retreat, he became minister by accident ; but deserting the principles and professions, which gave him a moment's popularity, we see him, from every honourable engagement to the public an apostate by design."—Letter 1.

"Lord Chatham was the earliest object of your political wonder and attachment ; yet you deserted him, upon the first hopes that offered of an equal share of power with Lord Rockingham. Still, however, he was your friend, and you are yet to explain to the world why you consented to act without him. Lord Chatham formed his last administration upon principles which you certainly concurred in, or you could never have been placed at the head of the treasury. By deserting those principles, and by acting in direct contradiction to them, in which he found you were secretly supported in the closet, you soon forced him to leave you to yourself, and to withdraw his name from an administration which had been formed on the credit of it." (Letter 12.) "Was not Lord Chatham the first who raised the Duke of Grafton to the rank and post of a minister and the first whom he abandoned ? After deserting Lord Chatham's principles, and sacrificing his friendship, is he not now closely united with a set of men, who, though they have occasionally

* "The Duke of Grafton took the office of Secretary of State with an engagement to support the Marquis of Rockingham's administration. He resigned however in a little time, under pretence that he could not act without Lord Chatham, nor bear to see Mr. Wilkes abandoned ; but that under Lord Chatham he would act in *any* office. This was the signal of Lord Rockingham's dismissal. When Lord Chatham came in, the Duke got possession of the Treasury. Reader, mark the consequence !"

joined with all parties, have in every different situation, and at all times, been equally and constantly detested by this country?"—Letter 13.

"The Duke of Grafton has always some excellent reason for deserting his friends. The age and incapacity of Lord Chatham; the debility of Lord Rockingham; or the infamy of Mr. Wilkes. Lord Chatham, Mr. Grenville, and Lord Rockingham have successively had the honour to be dismissed for preferring their duty, as servants to the public, to those compliances which were expected from their station. A submissive administration was at last gradually collected from the deserters of all parties, interests, and connexions: and nothing remained but to find a leader for these gallant well-disciplined troops. Stand forth my Lord, for thou art the man." (Letter 15.) "If I were personally your enemy I might pity and forgive you. You have every claim to compassion, that can arise from misery and distress. The condition you are reduced to would disarm a private enemy of resentment, and leave consolation to the most vindictive spirit, but that such an object as you are would disgrace the dignity of revenge. If I had followed the dictates of my own opinion, I never should have allowed you the respite of a moment. I submitted, however, to the judgment of men, more moderate, perhaps more candid, than myself." (Letter 36.) "His Majesty remembers with gratitude how soon you had accommodated your morals to the necessities of his service—how cheerfully you had abandoned the engagements of private friendship, and renounced the most solemn professions to the public. The sacrifice of Lord Chatham was not lost upon him; even the cowardice and perfidy of deserting him may have done you no disservice in his esteem." (Letter 49.) "You are the pillow upon which I am determined to rest all my resentment. My detestation of the Duke of Grafton is not founded upon his treachery to any individual, though I am willing enough to suppose that in public affairs it would be impossible to desert or betray Lord Chatham, without doing an essential interest to this country. My abhorrence of the Duke arises from an intimate knowledge of his character, and from a thorough conviction that his baseness has been the cause of greater mischief to England than even the unfortunate ambition of Lord Bute." (Letter 54.) "The divine justice of retribution seems now to have begun its progress. Deliberate treachery entails punishment upon the traitor;—there is no possibility of escaping it, even in the highest rank to which the consent of society can exalt the meanest and worst of men."—Letter 67.

I have taken the preceding quotations from *twelve* of the *Letters of Junius* to His Grace the Duke of Grafton; and although I have quoted rather extensively, from the first Letter in January 1769, "when Junius began his warfare," to the sixty-seventh, which closed his correspondence with the Duke, I could have multiplied their number, there being scarcely one Letter of Junius's which does not directly allude to His Grace. It is almost superfluous to make any comment on what Junius and Lord Chatham have said about the Duke of Grafton; yet so important is the parallel which I am endeavouring to substantiate, that I will, with the utmost possible conciseness, review what has been stated in reference to this particular subject.

Without favouring us with an express declaration of his own station in society, *Junius* assures us that he has an *intimate knowledge* of the Duke of Grafton's character—that he detests and abhors him—and that if he had followed the dictates of his own opinion he never should have allowed him the respite of a moment. Where, I would ask, ought we to seek for Junius? Not in the anti-chambers of our nobility—not at the Board of the Exchequer—not in the throng of common characters. No! we must range through the mansions of the great, and fixing our attention on the individual who had an intimate knowledge of the Duke of Grafton, who had been perfidiously deserted and betrayed by the Duke, who felt an abhorrence and detestation of him. I repeat, on such a man our attention should be directed; and it will not be a very improbable supposition if we presume that such an one may be the author of the *Letters of Junius*.

Lord Chatham had an intimate knowledge of the Duke of Grafton. He had been "duped, deceived by the Duke, when he least suspected treachery—at a time when the prospect was fair, and the appearances of confidence were strong. Snares had been artfully laid by his Grace to take advantage of his Lordship's state of health," and his Lordship's speeches had been publicly characterised by the Duke as "the effects of a distempered mind brooding over its own discontents." Dr. Bisset remarks—"Personal motives evidently inflamed this writer (*Junius*) against individual officers of the crown, whom party considerations induced him to assail as members of a body which was to be driven from the councils of the king to make way for the restoration of the Whigs." And Junius says of the Duke of Grafton—"You are the pillow upon which I am determined to rest all my resentment." Mr. Horne's explana-

tion or opinion of the meaning of this last sentence is too valuable not to be noticed :—" Because Lord Chatham has been ill treated by the King, and treacherously betrayed by the Duke of Grafton ; the latter is to be ' the pillow on which Junius will rest his resentment.' "

" Had the author of Junius drawn as much wisdom from life as he did from books—had he been accustomed to the busy hum of men—had he frequented the crowded halls of nobles—had he often championed popular rights in multitudinous assemblies—the harsher features of his mind would have been gradually softened—cunning would have taught him the necessity of pretending to feel human sympathies, if his heart had not been opened to generous sensibilities ;—he would have maintained his opinions, though in a more subdued tone, with the same intellectual energy : he would have still pursued the public criminals, but have not forgotten what was due to public decorum ; the courtesies of society would have been generally observed, and some kind of specious respect would have been habitually shewn to noble rank, and elevated station, and commanding influence, and high reputation, and professional fame, and sacred royalty. Junius is the only well-educated writer who seems not in these points to have been actuated by the feelings of mankind. And how shall we account for this perfect independence of mind, and this reckless heart of steel, except by supposing him to have been particularly circumstanced—to have been placed in unavoidable seclusion—or to have indulged in solitary majesty ?"—Mr. Barker's Letters.

If there be any truth in the declarations of Mr. Charles Butler—" to whom it was frequently given to hear the speeches of Lord Chatham"—if Mr. Burke, his contemporary, be entitled to attention and credit—if Lord John Russell and the Editor of the Retrospective Review have presented us with a faithful outline of the character of Lord Chatham—if all history be not false—and if we be allowed to form our opinions of his Lordship from his speeches and actions—then, I confidently say, no man, except Lord Chatham, can be compared and identified with the character of Junius so beautifully portrayed by Mr. Barker.

I will now leave the consideration of this subject to those who have remarked that Lord Chatham had no hostile feeling to the Duke of Grafton. If the Letters of Junius are not to be received as conclusive evidence of the fact, I know not to what we must refer for information.

Having proved that the Letters of Junius to the Duke of Grafton are remarkable for a personal feeling of animosity, I will show that those

written by that writer to Sir William Draper are equally so, for a total absence of any bad passion; yet Junius condemns, and in the most uncourteous manner, the conduct of Sir William.

"The defence of Lord Granby does honour to the goodness of your heart. You feel, as you ought to do, for the reputation of your friend; and you express yourself in the warmest language of the passions. Touched with your generosity, I freely forgive the excesses into which it has led you; and far from resenting those terms of reproach, which, considering that you are an advocate for decorum, you have heaped upon me rather too liberally, I place them to the account of an honest indignation, in which your cooler judgment and natural politeness had no concern. I am not your enemy, nor did I begin this contest with you. I write to you with reluctance."—Junius to Sir William Draper.

The Letters of Junius develope so intimate an acquaintance with the most private transactions of men, we must infer that he not merely had unusual opportunities of gaining information, but also that he was personally acquainted with the transactions and characters of those who are the objects of his notice. If, on the contrary, Junius had to acquire his knowledge on the spur of the moment, how indefatigable he must have been in obtaining it; and he would have to exercise uncommon caution in avoiding the prying curiosity of his informants. In the case of Sir William Draper, he had not ten entire days to devote to the task. Junius, we recollect, did not begin the contest; his expressions are—"Really, Sir William, I am not your enemy, nor did I begin this contest." Unprepared, however, as we may presume he was for the contest, how did he extricate himself from the dilemma? To the astonishment and mortification of Sir William, he entered into a minute detail of facts, implicating him in certain transactions which, to the generality of men, were either unknown or not comprehended.

The Editor of the Gentleman's Magazine for 1769, p. 65, submitted the Letters of Junius to Sir William Draper to his readers, because "the papers are written with a knowledge of public affairs beyond the line of ordinary information." In that opinion every one will concur; and few will say that Lord Chatham had not a knowledge of public affairs beyond the line of ordinary information.*

* An American gentleman, Mr. Newhall, who has written a book endeavouring to prove Earl Temple to be Junius, remarks at page lxxi.,

Lord Chatham was not the enemy of Sir W. Draper ; a few lines from a speech of Mr. Pitt's, in January, 1766, decides this point. " Will you quarrel with yourselves, now the whole House of Bourbon is united against you, while the ransom for the Manillas is denied by Spain, and its gallant conqueror basely traduced into a mean plunderer, a gentleman (Colonel Draper) whose *noble and generous spirit* would do honour to the proudest grandee of the country."—Parl. Hist. vol. 16, p. 107.

The next question for consideration, although surrounded with difficulties, I shall approach with some diffidence ; yet not for a moment will I shrink from a fair review of it, feeling neither doubt nor fear as to the result.

The positive declarations of almost every writer on the controversy of who was Junius, are arrayed against me on the subject which now demands an investigation.

It is stated by the Editor of the Edinburgh Review for June, 1826, that " Junius supported the cause of authority against America with Mr. Grenville, the Minister who passed the Stamp Act. He maintained the highest popular principles on the Middlesex election with the same statesman who was the leader of opposition on that question. No other party in the kingdom but the Grenvilles combined these two opinions. Whoever revives the inquiry, therefore, unless he discovers positive and irresistible evidence in support of his claimant, should show him politically attached to the Grenville party, which Junius certainly was ; and must also produce some specimens of his writings of tolerable length, such as might afford reasonable ground for believing that he could have written these letters. A simple text, therefore, ascertains the political connexion of Junius."

Mr. Barker's observation on the above sentence is—" The reviewer has clearly shewn the political connection between Junius and George Grenville, and I therefore subscribe to his opinion that such connection

that " the familiarity of Junius with the affairs of the War-Office Department, in all its details, has long been an obstacle, which the advocates of almost every candidate for the authorship have found it impossible to overcome." Perhaps Mr. Newhall does not include Lord Chatham in his list of candidates, or, what is not improbable, he forgot that his Lordship was, *par excellence*, The War Minister.

must be proved to have existed in the case of any claimant for the authorship of the Letters, or the claims should be at once rejected. It is well known that Junius always differed from Lord Chatham on the subject of the taxation of America. As an admirer of Mr. George Grenville in the part he took on that occasion, it was impossible that Junius could approve of Lord Chatham's conduct."

Mr. Coventry remarks—"The line of politics pursued by Junius and the Earl of Chatham was totally different on American taxation, which of itself shews there was no connection between them."

The writer of the Preliminary Essay to Mr. Woodfall's Ed. of Junius cautiously gives an opinion that, "anterior to the American contest, Junius was as thoroughly convinced as Mr. G. Grenville himself of the supremacy of the legislature of this country over the American colonies."

In the absence of any definite declaration of Junius in favour of the opinion that he supported Mr. G. Grenville, I will select from the Letters every passage, quoted by others, to favour that hypothesis.

The first Letter of Junius affords a long quotation:—"A series of inconsistent measures had alienated the colonies from their duty as subjects, and from their natural affection to their common country. When Mr. Grenville was placed at the head of the Treasury, he felt the impossibility of Great Britain's supporting such an establishment as her former successes had made indispensable, and, at the same time, of giving any sensible relief to foreign trade and to the weight of the public debt. He thought it equitable that those parts of the empire which had benefited most by the expenses of the war, should contribute something to the expenses of the peace, and he had no doubt of the constitutional right vested in Parliament to raise that contribution. But unfortunately for this country, Mr. Grenville was at any rate to be distressed because he was Minister, and Mr. Pitt* and Lord Camden were to be the patrons of America; because they were in opposition, their declarations gave spirit and argument to the colonies; and while, perhaps, they meant no more than the ruin of a Minister, they in effect divided one half of the empire from the other."—Letter 1.

I cannot suppose that any one can correctly infer from these quotations that Junius *advocates* Mr. G. Grenville's American tax, or that he

"* Yet Junius has been called the partizan of Lord Chatham!"

supports the cause of authority with that gentleman against the Americans. As, however, the point disputed is of considerable consequence, we will dispassionately examine each sentence.

Junius informs us, that *Mr. Grenville thought it equitable* to exert a certain power, having no doubt of the constitutional right. Substituting Junius for Grenville, my argument would not be tenable, but I object to such a transposition, and so unfair a manner of procuring data. Junius continues—"But unfortunately for this country, Mr. Grenville was at any rate to be distressed because he was Minister, and Mr. Pitt* and Lord Chatham were to be the patrons of America, because they were

* The *Notes* to Woodfall's Edition of Junius are termed by the Editor *explanatory*. Some of them were made by Junius himself, and are marked *Author*. A second class are the Editor's, and a third are so *very explanatory*, that neither Author nor Editor has claimed them. No one will disturb the first two classes of notes; our inquiries must be for an owner to the unclaimed and nameless ones. In matters of importance references to particular passages or circumstances are indispensable. The *first Letter* of Junius afforded us an example of the annotations which have found their way into that edition of Junius. It stands as follows: "Yet Junius has been called the partizan of Lord Chatham"! Indeed. Where—at what time—and by whom—has been? Why, I thought this *first Letter* of Junius was verily and truly the *first*! How comes it to pass that the exclamation is in the *past tense*? Junius *has been called*. Oh! you bungling annotator!—the note should have been reserved and given, explanatory of any random passage in any Letter *except the first*. Now who will pride himself to avow his legitimate right to that explanatory note? It appeared *before* Mr. Woodfall published his edition, and it has been sufficiently referred to by every writer on this question since; and what amuses me is the fact that it has always been considered as an *original* note; in short, that it was written by Junius. How very inconsistent would it have appeared for Junius to have made such a remark, is apparent. The Letters printed in 1769 are *without that note*—when it was first introduced, I have no means of ascertaining. Mr. Newhall makes a *shrewd* remark when he notices the first Letter: "This note by Junius illustrates why he had been so called, because he had been politically opposed to Mr. Grenville." If it could be proved

in opposition." (Surely Junius might term any particular circumstance unfortunate, without being subject to the charge of *advocating* the cause of America with Mr. Grenville.) "Their declaration gave spirit and argument to the colonies, and while perhaps they meant no more than the ruin of a Minister, they in effect divided one half of the empire from the other."

To rightly understand this sentence we must turn to the state of political parties antecedent to, and at the period of, the introduction of the Stamp Act.

Mr. Pitt's Ministry continued from 1756 to October 1761, and was supported by his intimate friend and brother-in-law, Mr. G. Grenville. When the Duke of Bedford's Ministry was formed in 1763, the gentlemen who took office were hostile to the line of policy adopted and recommended by Mr. Pitt, and with but few exceptions were not members of Mr. Pitt's administration. At this critical period the brother-in-law* and friend of

that *Junius* appended the note, I would observe that it was a perfectly unnecessary one, and intended to perplex his readers on any question which might arise connecting Lord Chatham with the author of the Letters.

* I will give a brief sketch of these changes from a paper in the London Magazine for 1769, p. 71. "At length Lord Bute, finding his acting *publicly* in office with any degree of credit an utter impossibility, withdrew himself *apparently* from the chief direction of affairs, and was succeeded at the treasury board by Mr. George Grenville, who had filled many employments, and was supposed to be one of the ablest financiers in the kingdom. The enemies of the late Premier asserted that Mr. G. Grenville was nothing more than the creature of the *favourite*. The minority, headed by Mr. Pitt, Lord Temple, the Duke of Newcastle, &c. could by no means forgive Mr. Grenville's junction with Lord B., though in that junction Mr. G. shewed a firm resolution to support his own independence, and was soon after dismissed from his employments. After this dismissal he was above the condescension of acting a secondary character in the Ministry, and was therefore considered by Mr. Pitt and Lord Temple, who were the oracles of that party, as an impracticable man, with whom there was no possibility of carrying on the opposition heartily."

Mr. Pitt, joined the Duke of Bedford, and was companion to Lords North, Sandwich, Hillsborough, Mr. Welbore Ellis, and Jerem. Dyson. In 1765 he became the more associated to his new friends, and more estranged from his old friend Mr. Pitt, by introducing the bill termed the American Stamp Act. Under such circumstances, Mr. Pitt would distress Mr. Grenville, *because*, as Junius says, *he was Minister*; and "while, perhaps, he meant no more than the ruin of a Minister, he in effect divided one half of the empire from the other."

It cannot be from such declarations that we infer Junius to be *an advocate* for the cause of authority against the Americans. I acknowledge that nothing definite can be obtained from the first Letter, either to support those who disagree with me in opinion on this subject, or to give weight to my own. The same objection cannot be advanced to weaken my argument in the following quotations, and I willingly allow to others the benefit of holding opinions directly opposed to the explicit declarations of Junius.

"Under one administration the Stamp Act is made; under the second it is repealed; under the third, in spite of all experience, a new mode of taxing the colonies is invented, and a question revived which ought to have been buried in oblivion. In these circumstances, a new office is established for the business of the plantations, and the Earl of Hillsborough called forth at a most critical season to govern America. * * * When he entered into office, the most refractory of the colonies were still disposed to proceed by the constitutional methods of petition and remonstrance. Since that period, they have been driven into excesses little short of rebellion. Petitions have been hindered from reaching the throne, and the continuance of one of the principal assemblies rested upon an arbitrary condition,* which, considering the temper they were in, it was impossible they should comply with, and which would have availed nothing as to the general question if it had been complied with. So violent, and I believe I may call it so unconstitutional, an exertion of the prerogative, to say nothing of the weak, injudicious terms in which it was conveyed, give us as humble an opinion of his Lordship's capacity as it does of his temper and moderation. While we are at peace with other nations, our military force may perhaps be spared to support

* "That they should retract one of their resolutions, and erase the entry of it."

the Earl of Hillsborough in America. Whenever that force shall be necessarily withdrawn or diminished, the dismissal of such a Minister will neither console us for his imprudence, nor remove the settled resentment of a people, who, complaining of an act of the Legislature, are outraged by an unwarrantable stretch of prerogative, and supporting their claims by argument, are insulted with declamation."—Junius, Letter 1, p. 56.

"The distance of the Colonies would make it impossible for them to take an active concern in your affairs, if they were as well affected to your government as they once pretended to be to your person. They were ready enough to distinguish between you and your ministers. They complained of an act of the legislature, but traced the origin of it no higher than to the servants of the crown. They pleased themselves with the hope that their Sovereign, if not favourable to their cause, at least was impartial. The decisive personal part you took against them has effectually banished that first distinction from their minds.

"*They consider you as united with your servants against America, and know how to distinguish the Sovereign and a venal parliament on one side, from the real sentiments of the English people on the other. It is not from the alienated affections of America that you can reasonably look for assistance.*"—(Letter 35 to the King.)—"In the repeal of those acts, which were most offensive to America, the Parliament have done every thing but remove the offence. They have relinquished the revenue, but judiciously taken care to preserve the contention. It is not pretended that the continuance of the tea duty is to produce any direct benefit whatsoever to the mother country. *What is it then but an odious, unprofitable exertion of a speculative right, and fixing a badge of slavery upon the Americans, without service to their masters.* But it has pleased God to give us a Ministry and a Parliament who are neither to be persuaded by argument nor instructed by experience."—Letter 39.

"Since the repeal of the Stamp Act, I know of no acts tending to tax the Americans, except that which creates the tea duty, and even that can hardly be called internal; yet it ought to be repealed as an impolitic act, not as an oppressive one. It preserves the contention between the mother country and the colonies, when every thing worth contending for is in reality given up. I am not sufficiently informed upon the subject of that excise, which you say is substituted in North America to the laws of customs, to deliver such an opinion upon it as I would abide by; yet

I can easily comprehend that, admitting the necessity of raising a revenue for the support of Government there, any other revenue laws but those of excise must be nugatory in such a country as America. I say this with great diffidence as to the point in question, and with a positive protest against any conclusion from America to Great Britain."—Junius to Wilkes.

"Are these the terms which men who are in earnest make use of when the *salus reipublicæ* is at stake?"

"Junius considers the right of taking the colonies, by an act of the British legislature, as a *speculative* right merely, never to be exerted, nor ever to be renounced."—Letter of Philo-Junius 64.

Now, would any twelve honest men, without any preconceived theory to support—would, I ask, twelve well informed men pronounce such language decisive of the question that Junius *supported* the cause of authority against the Americans? We may wilfully misunderstand these quotations, and we may boldly assert that Junius intended to convey a meaning in the term *speculative* right, which, if properly understood, implies more than the expression taken in a literal sense imports. But, let us not interpret the clear and positive words of Junius, as we wish, but as they fairly stand in each sentence. "Let it be remembered that we are speaking of the intention of men who lived more than half a century ago, and that such intention can only be collected from their words and actions, as they are delivered to us upon record."—(Junius, Letter 20.) There are indeed a few lines in the 59th Letter which stand opposed to my opinion, or rather appear to do so. I have no desire to conceal even the weakness of the position I am endeavouring to maintain. Truth is the grand object of my research, and on no consideration will I designedly refrain from seeking it, although surrounded with difficulties and dangers. If in our search for Junius we met with no impediments, he would have been dragged before the King and the Ministers whom he unsparingly libelled, and every man capable of reasoning correctly from true data given, would long ere this have discovered who Junius was. Let us remember the momentous importance there was that Junius should be a concealed writer, and we may then be more disposed to put a charitable construction on any defect which we may have in explaining *every* word written by that individual.

"As for differences of opinion upon *speculative* questions, if we wait until *they* are reconciled, the action of human affairs must be for ever

suspended. But neither are we to look for perfection in any one man, nor for agreement among many. When Lord Chatham affirms that the authority of the British Legislature is not supreme over the Colonies, in the same sense in which it is supreme over Great Britain, I listen with diffidence and respect, but without the smallest degree of conviction or assent ; yet, I doubt not, he delivered his real sentiments, nor ought he to be hastily condemned."—Letter 59.

I must be permitted to make a few observations on this last quotation, and to enter into a short review of the state of public feeling at the time the question of the right of Great Britain to tax the Colonies was agitated by Mr. Grenville and the Government. The *ambiguous term* adopted by Junius, when his attention is called to the right to tax America, cannot have escaped our notice, because it was so at variance with his general plan of full discussion of the subject he writes about. He is at no loss for arguments and authorities when the right to impress seamen is questioned ; he hesitates not to contest a legal point with Lord Chief Justice Mansfield ; and he devotes his best energies on the Falkland Island affair ; yet from one subject he shrinks, and is satisfied to give a doubtful opinion. The system of iniquity disclosed in the Falkland Island transaction was no doubt very properly a fit topic for the pen of Junius ; still, after all, it was but a question of trifling importance, compared with the American stamp act ; the one might be explained, or compensation might satisfy the nation for the injury ; but the right to tax our Colonies was a vital question : on its fate hung the future destinies of the new world. Besides, during the period of its agitation, it engrossed the undivided attention of the greatest statesmen ; it possessed a power which tore asunder the bonds of private friendship and of fraternal love. Yet, strange to tell, Junius, whose Letters were written expressly to support the people's rights, neither advocates the right to tax the Colonies, nor supports, with the great leader of the opposition, the opposite opinion. The conduct of Junius is singular, but not, I conceive, inexplicable.

When Mr. Grenville introduced the Stamp Act, " Mr. Pitt and Lord Camden were to be the patrons of America because in opposition." Within a few years of that period, and when men had waxed warm with contentions, the Letters of Junius appeared, " diffusing among the body of the people a clearer knowledge of their constitutional rights than they had ever before attained, and animated them with a more determined spirit to maintain them inviolate"—"with an almost electric speed they acquired a popu-

larity which no series of letters have since possessed." Burke, when describing the impression which they made on the public, concludes, "King, Lords, and Commons, are but the sport of his fury." So libellous were they considered by the Government, that every method which art or ingenuity could devise was employed to detect the writer, who, conscious of his danger, adopted every precaution to escape the myrmidons of the court.

The mercenary hirelings of Government were engaged to draw him into a literary contest; "hence they would possess a greater facility of detecting him." We may fairly presume that every sentence in the Letters themselves would be scrutinised with the most critical attention in the hope of detecting the kingly libeller. And we may also infer that Junius was aware that so natural a mode of "hunting him out" would be resorted to. Well might he exclaim "I must be more cautious than ever."

The political connections and opinions of the Opposition, headed by Lord Chatham, would be subjected to the most rigorous examination; and from the almost uniform congeniality of sentiment in the Letters of Junius and in the speeches of Lord Chatham, the Ministry would be more than commonly attentive to his movements; and I cannot doubt that, had Junius unequivocally maintained the *right* to tax the colonies, the Ministry would have had very strong internal evidence, from the general tenour of the Letters, that his Lordship was personally concerned in their publication. The cautious and very brief expressions used by Junius on a topic, be it remembered, of then primary importance, imply a more than ordinary motive. I may perhaps be censured for presuming to say that Junius designedly abstained from an argumentative discussion of the question of the right to tax the colonies, and that as he could not with propriety avoid the subject altogether, he as designedly gave an opinion which, without agreeing with the Grenville party, who advocated the right, or with the opposition, answered his chief purpose—the concealment of the writer of the Letters.* I have no wish to resort to improbable conjectures, or attempt to explain or reconcile minor differ-

* I should be gratified to read a commentary on the following sentence, from the pen of either Mr. Barker or the Edinburgh Reviewers:—"It is not my design to enter into a formal vindication of Mr. Grenville upon his own principles."—Letter 18.

ences of opinion between Junius and Lord Chatham, nor do I, by acknowledging* their existence, weaken the claim which I set up for that nobleman. The contemporary writers with Junius placed no improper value on every unimportant contradiction in the Letters and in the character of the claimant for their authorship. Dr. Johnson remarks, "I should have believed Burke to be Junius, because I know no man but Burke who was capable of writing these Letters, but Burke spontaneously denied it."—Croker's *Life of Dr. Johnson*, vol. 4, p. 246.

The doctor founded his belief on the *ability* of the individual to write the Letters; a mere difference of opinion was not a subject of sufficient consideration or importance to regulate his judgment. The Doctor's language cannot be misunderstood. If I had no other proof to offer in support of Lord Chatham's claim, I would confidently say, I believe Lord Chatham to be Junius, because I know no man but Chatham who was capable of writing these Letters.

"A simple test ascertains the political connexion of Junius," say the co-editors of the *Edinburgh Review*, and Mr. Barker distinctly states that Junius was the political friend of Mr. G. Grenville,† and that the great unknown was politically hostile to Lord Chatham because his Lordship was separated from Mr. Grenville. So simple a statement can be readily investigated. If there be no incorrectness in what Mr. Barker says, we may expect to find that Junius was not opposed to some of the

* "Great caution, observes Mr. Barker, p. 59, is necessary to be observed in discussing fairly the question of Junius; we must neither over-state nor under-state facts, neither over-rate nor under-rate arguments, neither increase nor diminish the natural force of circumstances and incidents, but maintain an even, because consistent—a true, because just—a successful, because wary course throughout the investigation of this most curious subject."

† "Previous to the publication of Junius's Letters, the Grenvilles were all reconciled to each other and to Lord Chatham; and it was at this time the general opinion of all ranks that these persons must succeed to the highest departments of the State whenever a change of ministers should take place. Thus, it may be presumed, two points are explained which have often excited surprise; the apparent or probable cause of attacking the Duke of Grafton, and the apparent or probable motive for sparing the Grenvilles."—Almon's *Biographical, &c. Anecdotes*.

measures defended by Mr. Grenville. A friend of Mr. Barker's has taken a just view of this question, and I will avail myself of his observations. Mr. Roche observes—"The present, I believe, is the first time in which it has been gravely maintained that Junius, (in spite of his own declaration to the contrary, affirming that he is of no party,) was the advocate and partizan of Mr. Grenville. That he had a high respect for his abilities, character, and integrity, is clear from various parts of his writings; but it is equally manifest that *Junius was in direct hostility to some of the measures of Mr. Grenville's administration.* For instance, did Junius approve of the proceedings against Mr. Wilkes, which commenced while Mr. Grenville was Minister, *and by his advice?* Did he approve of the seizure of his papers, or of his arrest by a general warrant? Or did Junius approve of another doctrine not only maintained, but carried into execution during that administration, that the crown, during a recess, had the power of suspending the operation of an act of the legislature? It would be needless to multiply instances of this kind to show how much he differed in many things from Mr. Grenville."

The subject is too interesting to be left imperfect. Did Junius approve of the peace in 1763? * Mr. Grenville decidedly did so. Did Junius approve of a cyder tax, supported by Mr. Grenville? Junius condemned an arbitrary extension of prerogative in the case of Mr. Wilkes and the North Briton. Mr. Grenville approved of an exercise of that arbitrary power. *Junius did not advocate the right of this kingdom to tax the colonies; Mr. Grenville did.* Junius wrote two long letters in support of the remonstrance of the city of London; Mr. Grenville was opposed to the "inflammatory measure."

Simple as the test is which ascertains Junius's connections, we shall have some difficulty in applying the same test to Mr. G. Grenville. If we confine ourselves to mere political opinions, we find a total disagreement on subjects of sufficient importance to engage much of the attention of Junius. Can we then say with the Edinburgh Reviewers that Junius was a constant admirer of Mr. Geo. Grenville? It will be my care to prove that Lord Chatham and Junius not only held the same sentiments

* Junius might very justly have adopted the words used by Lord Chatham in 1766—"As to the late Ministry (turning himself to Mr. G. Grenville who sat within one of them), *every capital measure they have taken has been entirely wrong.*"—Parl. Hist. vol. 16, p. 97.

on all questions, but that their ideas were expressed in similarity of style, and in many instances by a choice of metaphors and figures bearing evident marks of being the product of the same mind.

To clearly comprehend some of the Letters of Junius, and to perceive the connection which there is between certain portions of them and the conduct of Lord Chatham, it will be necessary to give a general outline of the political relations of his Lordship immediately preceding and subsequent to the accession of George the Third. I will be as brief as possible, referring to the pages of history for a more minute account of the intrigues and factions of the "ins and outs" of that period. "The Anecdotes of the Life of Lord Chatham" afford me sufficient data. From this book the following outline is taken :—

Anno. 1757. George II. gave his confidence to Mr. Pitt, and the latter, upon discovering the whole of the King's views, saw he could make them secondary and subservient to the interests of Great Britain. During the remainder of the reign they acted together.

1760. Two days after the King's accession, the Earl of Bute, "the favourite," was introduced into the Privy Council. Writers were employed by the Earl of Bute's party to calumniate Mr. Pitt and the Whigs, who were styled republicans. But Mr. Pitt was the principal object of their calumny.

1761. The Faction resolved to change the ministry. Lord Bute became Secretary of State. Lord Temple supported Mr. Pitt, but every other member in the cabinet declaring against their measures, they both resigned. Mr. Pitt's character was assailed with the most ardent malignity and savage phrenzy by all the hired writers in the service of the Favourite's party—they branded him with the name of pensioner, apostate, deserter. He retired from office an indigent man, with little more than his annuity for his support. The revenue stood clear of all incumbrances.

1762. Mr. Pitt attended in Parliament, and said we had sacrificed the public faith by an abandonment of our allies.

1763. Mr. Pitt opposed the laying a duty upon cyder and perry, upon the dangerous precedent of admitting the officers of excise into private houses.

Mr. Pitt had an interview with the King and Lord Bute, by their desire, to form an administration; he addressed his Majesty in the following words :—"Affairs cannot be carried on without the great families who have supported the revolution, and other great persons,

of whose abilities and integrity the public have had experience, and who have weight and credit with the nation." The negotiation failed.

1764. Mr. Pitt opposed the law of General Warrants.

1765. Mr. Pitt again applied to join the Ministry. He refused "unless he could carry the constitution along with him."

1766. Mr. Pitt opposed the American Stamp Acts. Again desired by the Faction to form an Administration. The Duke of Grafton attached himself to him. Mr. Pitt and Lord Temple disagree about the unlimited power given to Mr. Pitt by the King to form an administration. Created Earl of Chatham, and attempted to form an Administration of different persons of great weight and consideration—he failed in doing so.

In September, Lord Chatham's penetration suggested to him the necessity of uniting himself to the Court. He was not unacquainted that a powerful and violent opposition was forming against him. The court party promised to support him, he gave them full credit because he believed them sincere. Although the vacant offices were filled, yet he was far from being satisfied with the choice he had *been obliged* to make of several individuals, or with the union he had been *obliged* to accept, and he regretted more than any other circumstance the loss of his brother Lord Temple. Grief, vexation, and disappointment, preyed upon his nerves—a violent attack of the gout was the consequence.

1767. He retired to Hampstead. In July an application was made to him by the King to return to the assistance of the cabinet; he replied, "that such was his ill state of health that his Majesty must not expect from him any fresh assistance in any arrangement whatever."

The Parliament met in November and was dissolved in March, 1768. Lord Chatham did not attend during the Session, but resigned the Privy Seal.

A short time before his resignation we find him agitated by contending passions,* mortified in having been *obliged* to join himself to

* "Lord Chatham saw with dissatisfaction many of the late ministerial proceedings; he was displeased with their conduct respecting America; indignant at the tranquillity with which his colleagues suffered the French to possess themselves of Corsica; and, in many other respects, discontented: he also felt great repugnance at seeing his name connected with men and measures so generally unpopular, and determined to resign. *He would not even attend at court to announce his resolution, but sent the Privy Seal by Lord Camden.*"—Adolphus.

individuals personally disagreeable to him, and in whom he had no confidence. Called upon to connive at a double system of intrigue apparent to the whole nation, "which had for its objects, the debasement of the English nobility, the extension of the power of the crown, and the humiliation of the pride of the nation :"—grief, disappointment, and vexation preyed upon his nerves ; he retired to the solitude of Hampstead, and declined acceding to the King's request of joining the Ministry.

In this retirement he had full leisure, powers fresh and vigorous, and capable of being, at the shortest notice, waked into active and awful energy.

Lord Chatham returned to London in March, 1767 ; he retired to a house at Hampstead, and remained there some time. For a short period, he went down to Hayes, in Kent ; but on the 2d of July, we find him *sick** at Hampstead. As soon as his health permitted, he retired into Somersetshire, but before December we find him again at Hampstead.

1768. " His Lordship at his old seat at Hayes," but acquainted with the measures of Government, communicating frequently with Lord Temple ; and, from a variety of incidents alluded to by him and his friends, in which he was personally interested, I have just cause in believing that he was in London or at Hampstead during many months in this year. There is nothing definite in the Anecdotes of his Life.

In the Letters of Lord Chesterfield, we meet with an explanation of the sickness which so often and conveniently confined Lord Chatham : " November, 1765. Mr. Pitt keeps his bed here, with a real gout, and *not a political one as is often suspected*. April, 1767. Lord Chatham has been so ill these two last months, that he has not been able (*some say not willing*) to do or hear of any business. May, 1767. Lord Chatham is still ill, and only goes abroad for an hour in a day to take the air in his coach. July, 1767. Lord Chatham will neither hear of or do any business, but lives at Hampstead and rides about the heath : *his gout is said to be fallen upon his nerves*. January, 1768. Lord Chatham is at his house at Hayes, but sees no mortal. Some say that he has a fit of the gout, which would do him good ; but many think that his worst complaint is in his head, which I am afraid is too true."

* " The gout, his convenient friend in every political distress, came opportunely to his aid."—Political Register, vol. 5, p. 177.

1769. "The respite which Lord Chatham gave himself from all kinds of business, and the happiness he enjoyed in the reconciliation of his relations, so largely contributed to the restoration of his health, that on the approach of the following session he found himself able to attend the labours of Parliament."

Lord Chatham might be engaged "during this long respite, freed from all kinds of business"—"and with a *mind never affected by disease*," in organising a systematic attack "on all that was vile and contemptible."

"The Author of the Letters of Junius, (says Mr. Barker, p. 141,) could not have had leisure for any other pursuit, or any other business, while he was engaged in writing those Letters. He must have lived in the retirement of his own presence, confining his society, when he could admit society, chiefly to those few individuals who furnished him with facts, and incidents, and circumstances, or in any way favoured his views and facilitated his labours. In solitary majesty, in oriental seclusion, in the realm of silence, and in the land of oblivion, he was 'left at large to his own dark designs,'—till, like another Aurengzebe, he came forth

"Fierce from his lair to lap the blood of kings."

The truth of these remarks is confirmed by what Junius writes to Mr. Wilkes. "I offer you the sincere opinion of a man, who, perhaps, has more leisure to make reflections than you have, and who, though he stands clear of all business and intrigue, *mixes sufficiently for the purposes of intelligence in the conversation of the world*."

The year 1770 was a memorable one. The journals of the House of Lords, and the various publications of this year, record his Lordship's numerous speeches in Parliament. We ascertain from the Anecdotes of his Life, that "he retired into Somersetshire during the *summer* of this year." A particular reference to the dates of Junius's Letters in 1770, will satisfactorily solve any objection which might be raised on this question of his Lordship's retirement. The dates are February 14, March 19, April 3, May 28, August 22; and in the private Letters, March 18, October 19. The coincidence is at least singular. Junius had retired somewhere in the summer months of June, July, and to the 22d of August.

In 1771 we learn that Lord Chatham "attended to his Parliamentary duties until the close of the Session in May;" where he was after this I have no means of ascertaining.

In 1772 and 1773, Lord Chatham did not attend Parliament. Where he resided during these years is of little consequence, for "the last political letter" with the signature "Junius" was dated January 21, 1772. Junius's *last letter to Woodfall*, dated January 19, 1773, assures him that he will write no more :—"I feel for the honour of this country, when I see that there are not ten men in it who will unite and stand together upon any one question. But it is all alike vile and contemptible." Lord Chatham died in the year 1778.

This brief investigation will, I trust, warrant me in saying that Lord Chatham had it in his power to have written to the Editor of the Public Advertiser during the years when Junius was in correspondence with that paper.

Junius gives a very sparing account of himself and his station in life, yet there are some particulars hinted at in his Letters which appear to merit more attention than they have received. In the private Letter 76, dated October, 1771, Wilkes asks this question—"Does Junius wish for any dinner or ball tickets for the Lord Mayor's day?" Junius answers—"My age and figure would do but little credit to my partner." In a note, by the Editor, p. 160, vol. 1, of Junius's Letters, we read that "Lord Chatham, it is well known, laboured under a premature decrepitude of body, from frequent and violent attacks of the gout; but his mind was never affected by such paroxysms." It is not impossible, says Woodfall, to form a guess at the age of Junius. In one of his Letters, dated November 27, 1771, Junius writes, "*after long experience* of the world, I never knew a rogue that was not unhappy"—and at the conclusion of the Dedication, "that civil liberty may still last the life of Junius." Lord Chatham was in the 63d year of his age in 1771.

Woodfall describes Junius as a "man of independent fortune—that he moved in the immediate circle of the court—and was intimately acquainted, from its first conception, with almost every public measure, every ministerial intrigue, and every domestic incident."

Mr. Woodfall, senior, closes his correspondence with Junius by expressing his conviction that he was in a superior condition and advanced in years. "Should (says W.) it please the Almighty *to spare your life* till the next general election, and I should at that time exist, I should hope *you will deign* to instruct me for whom I should give my vote, as my wish is to be represented by the most honest and able, and *I know*

there cannot be any one who is so fit to judge as yourself." p. 258.* Senex, in the *Gent. Mag.* for Feb. 1829, has an inference from this sentence which I perfectly coincide with:—"This *profound humility* could not be addressed to his schoolfellow, Sir P. Francis, then likely to see half a dozen general elections. Woodfall, therefore, clearly either fancied the writer to be *an old man, a sick man, or a man greatly superior to himself in condition.*"

Lord Chatham was independent in fortune ; he moved in the immediate circle of the court, and it may fairly be presumed that he was intimately acquainted with every public measure, every ministerial intrigue, and every domestic incident. His rank* and station in life, and his family connections, necessarily brought him in contact with all the celebrated characters of the day, and we may easily imagine that he knew how to manage "the myrmidons of the court," and to obtain from them information on any subject of consequence.†

In the *Gent. Mag.*, vol. 87. pt. 2, 131, we have a very curious illustration of the above description. "The divisions are great in the besieger's camp, particularly between Lord T. and C——n, about the author of *Junius's Letters*." On this sentence the late *Mr. Justice Hardinge* remarks—"These few words are of no trivial import, and they wonderfully confirm a passage in a conversation between *Lord Camden* and me. He told me that many things in *Junius* convinced him that the *materials* were prompted by Earl Temple, and he mentioned, in particular, a confidential statement which had been made in private between *Lord Chatham*, Lord Temple, and Lord Camden, which, from the nature of it, *could only* have been disclosed by Lord Temple, through *Junius*, to the public." The inference drawn by the Learned Judge was not so very logical as he supposed. Surely *Lord Chatham* might have made the confidential statement known ; the presumption that he did so, is as fair and probable as that Lord Temple revealed it to the *unknown Junius*.

* "Arguing synthetically, we determined that *Junius* was a man of high rank, from the tone of equality which he seemed to use quite naturally in his addresses to persons of rank, and in his expressions respecting them."—*Butler's Reminiscences*.

† "Lord Chatham's information of the proceedings of the Cabinet Council was supposed to have been derived from Lord Camden, who, in 1770, was Lord Chancellor."—*Anecdotes of his Life*, vol. 2, p. 21.

In a private letter to Woodfall, Junius uses an expression to which I attach considerable importance. When Woodfall was under prosecution for having printed Junius's *Letter to the King*, Junius writes, "If your affair should come to a trial, and you should be found guilty, you will then let me know what expense falls on you." Again, "Avoid prosecution if you can." To Wilkes he says, "I know that in the ordinary course of law they cannot hurt you, but did the idea of a Bill of Banishment never occur to you?" *But in what language, and by what legal technicality did Junius designate the punishment that would fall on his own head if he were discovered?* Leaving a printer to be fined or prosecuted, and a city patriot to be banished, as an ordinary affair, feelingly might Junius or Lord Chatham say "*they would attain me by bill.*" In a private letter to Mr. Woodfall, this remarkable sentence is introduced:—"*I must be more cautious than ever. I am sure I should not survive a discovery three days; or if I did, they would attain me by bill.*" Would a commoner, or mere member of the House of Lords or Commons, under the identical circumstance referred to by Junius, have said "*they would attain me by bill?*" Certainly not. To whom then could this expression apply? To a Member of the Privy Council—or to one who had been a Privy Councillor? Such a character is sworn to keep all the King's secrets;* and if he divulged any secret revealed to him, he would be guilty of High Treason. Would Lord Chatham have been liable to be attainted by bill if it could have been proved that his Lordship had written the Letters of Junius? Certainly he would. The precautions of Junius were not unnecessary. If I have put a legal construction on this question, all individuals, except Privy Councillors, will be debarred from claiming any right and title to the authorship of the Letters of Junius.

In a letter to Woodfall in 1769, Junius says, "I doubt much whether I shall ever have the pleasure of knowing you; but *if things*

* On a motion in the House of Commons, in 1761, for the production of certain memorials, Mr. Pitt said "that he could not mark out, nor call in a parliamentary way, for a specific paper, with the contents of which he had been entrusted by the king under the seal of secrecy." And on the 19th of January, 1762, "Lord Temple declined answering certain questions from the effect of his oath as a Privy Councillor." Parl. Hist. vol. 15, p. 1126.

take the turn I expect, you shall know me by my works." In this year, what was Lord Chatham engaged in? History informs us that he was *sick* at Hampstead: that in a few months after he spoke for three hours on the opening of the Session of Parliament. Woodfall *might* have known him by his works!

But another construction may be put on this expression. Junius might hope to have it in his power to render Woodfall an essential service. That Lord Chatham had a hope of reinstating himself in the Cabinet is not improbable. In the beginning of 1770, he says, "I shall never be Minister, certainly not, *without full power* to cut away all the rotten branches from Government." Now in this very year Junius writes to Wilkes, and uses the following remarkable language: "And though *I do not disclaim* the idea of some *personal views to future honour and advantage*, yet I can truly affirm that *neither are they little* in themselves, nor can they by any possible conjecture be collected from my writings." And to Woodfall he says, "*Now is the crisis.*"

There is a singular coincidence of time and sentiment, of style and argument, in the above sentences; it is a strong link in the chain of proof which I possess, and which I shall advance, that Lord Chatham may be identified in Junius.*

Mr. Barker's observations on the Letter to Woodfall is not uninteresting. "When the Letter of Junius was sent to Woodfall, the writer's hopes were at the highest point of elevation. He had heard that *Lord Chatham* meant to support the remonstrance, and under that impression having at once laid aside his wonted caution, and all the prejudices he had entertained against that Nobleman, he directly avows himself to be of his party." His note to Woodfall is as follows:—"Sunday, March 18, 1770. This Letter is written wide, and I suppose will not fill two columns.

* Without deviating from my original plan, I may be permitted in a note to give an extract from the Gentleman's Magazine for 1770, p. 44, strongly confirmatory of this part of my argument. "A conference was said to be held on the 18th of January, at a house in Grosvenor-square, at which, among other things, it was settled, that should the present opposition succeed, Lord Chatham, Lord Temple, and the Marquis of Rockingham, should be created Dukes, and hold each a cabinet office; that George Grenville, under the controul of three Dukes, should appear as ostensible minister at the head of the Treasury."

For God's sake let it appear to-morrow. I hope you received my note of yesterday. *Lord Chatham is determined to go to the Hall to support the Westminster Remonstrance. I have no doubt that we shall conquer them at last.*"

I scarcely know any one Letter which has so gratified me as the above. We are positively told by Junius that he had facilities of knowing Lord Chatham's intentions, and that his Lordship was firm and determined to support a certain motion. So anxious is he to co-operate with his Lordship, "for now is the crisis," that he says to his printer, "*for God's sake let my Letter appear to-morrow.* I have no doubt that *we* shall conquer them at last." *What we?* Surely Junius does not mean Lord Chatham, the infamous! the black villain! the tyrant!—so termed, with a hundred worse epithets, by the Poplicola of the Miscellaneous Letters.

The knowledge which Junius had of private transactions in families of great consequence, is apparent in almost every letter. To Woodfall in October, 1769, he writes, "As to you, it is clearly my opinion that you have nothing to fear from the Duke of Bedford. I reserve some things expressly to awe him. I am sure I can threaten him privately with such a storm as would make him tremble even in his grave." Lord Chatham was in possession of information on a subject of some importance, which he might reserve "expressly to awe" the Duke of Bedford. "When Mr. George Grenville, brother-in-law to Lord Chatham, became reconciled to his brother Lord Temple, in 1765, he unbosomed himself to his brother, and related all the arts and clandestine steps of Lord Bute, which if possible increased his brother's ardour in opposition to Lord Bute. The unpopular peace of 1763 was negotiated by the Duke of Bedford. The rumour became current that the French court had purchased this peace by bribes to the Princess Dowager of Wales, Lord Bute, the *Duke of Bedford*, &c. &c."—(Anecd. Life of Chatham.) Recollecting that Mr. George Grenville was in 1763 First Lord Treasurer, may it not reasonably be supposed that he was acquainted with the terms of that secret treaty. He unbosomed himself to his brother, Lord Temple, and related certain nameless clandestine arts practised by one of the bribed Lords; he also might tell certain other things to his brother-in-law, Chatham, about the Duke of Bedford and the peace of Paris.

Junius must also have had a personal knowledge of the King. Writing to Horne, he says, "I know that man better than you." Is it

required of me to prove that Lord Chatham was personally known to George the Third? By referring to the history of the numerous conferences which his Lordship had with his Majesty, prior to the year 1769, every person will be satisfied that Lord Chatham could justly say, "I know that man better than you." Can this last question be answered satisfactorily by any other person who has been brought forward as the writer of the Letters of Junius?

Junius, in a letter to Wilkes, intimates, by the following expression, that he was well acquainted with the domestic affairs of his family: "I would still appeal to your heart; or, if you have any scruples about that kind of evidence, *ask that amiable daughter whom you so implicitly confide in.*" Is it possible that Junius should betray me? Wilkes, in a previous letter to Junius, says, "Lord Chatham said to me ten years ago, * * * is the falsest hypocrite in Europe." How strange! William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, on terms of familiarity with Wilkes—how passing strange that Junius also knew him. The inference *to me* is plain.

Junius speaks of the great learning and integrity of Lord Camden, and of the absurd fiction of his being that noble Lord's enemy. He calls upon him "to stand forth in the defence of the laws of his country, and to exert, in the cause of truth and justice, those great abilities with which he was entrusted for the benefit of mankind."

Lord Chatham named Lord Camden one of his Trustees.

Junius is very angry with Lord Mansfield—he holds him up to the world as an object to be despised, and in the violence of his indignation says, "In council he generally affects to take a moderate part." How did Junius know this? Neither Lords Mansfield and North, nor the Duke of Grafton, would make such a fact known. To Lord Chatham, the affectation of Lord Mansfield in council must have been known and seen; and when his Lordship left his Majesty's Ministers in 1769, *his friend, Lord Camden*, was Lord Chancellor. Such trifling facts as these may be of little weight individually—but linked together, a chain of proof may be formed in favour of Lord Chatham, solid and durable.

The whole tenour of the letters satisfies us that the writer was acquainted with every transaction connected with the King, the Privy Council, and the private affairs of the Ministry.

"Junius was deeply versed in the language, the laws, the constitution and history of his native country"—or, as Mr. Butler observes, he was a great "constitutional reader." Lord Chatham equalled him in a

knowledge of these things, and he could join with Junius in the expression, "I am no lawyer by profession."

Junius has been repeatedly accused of being a party man. "This letter," says Junius, "I doubt not, will be attributed to *some party friend*, by men who expect no applause but from their dependents." But perhaps no political satirist was ever less so. "Let us employ these men," says he, "in whatever departments their various abilities are best suited to, and as much to the advantage of the common cause as their different inclination will permit. If individuals have no virtues, their vices may be of use to us. I care not with what principle the new-born patriot is animated, if the measures he supports are beneficial to the community." Burke's opinion of Lord Chatham was that, "He made an administration so checked and speckled—patriots and courtiers, kings, friends, and republicans; whigs and tories; treacherous friends and open enemies. Deprived of his guiding influence, they were whirled about the sport of every gust."

Wilkes says, "He was such a bigot to the interests of the public that no private connections whatever could induce him to prefer an undeserving person." Speaking of Wilkes, Lord Chatham says, "I consider him merely and indifferently as an English subject, possessed of certain rights which the laws have given him, and which the laws alone can take from him. I am neither moved by his private vices, nor by his public merits. In his person, though he were the worst of men, I contend for the safety and security of the best." Even Lord Chesterfield condescends to praise him for "disinterestedness."

Junius was secret in all his transactions with Woodfall; not all the myrmidons of the court could track him. In the "North Briton" we read "that Lord Chatham was of such unshaken secrecy, that during the whole course of his ministry, he gave no opportunity to the *most willing* of discovering our designs to the enemy."

Junius must have had unusual opportunities of gaining Parliamentary intelligence. In letter 60, he remarks, "With regard to Lord Camden, the truth is, that he inadvertently overshot himself, as appears plainly by that unguarded mention of a tyranny of forty days *which I myself heard*." This sentence has reference to a speech of Lord Camden's in the House of Lords, on the bill of indemnity for those concerned in the embargo of corn in the year 1766. In the Annual Register for 1767, p. 46, we read, "that in those cases the evil cannot be very great, since it is but forty days'

tyranny. Junius *heard* Lord Camden make use of these words, and he tells us moreover that it was an inadvertent expression. Lord Chatham was present when Lord Camden used these words, and he felt particularly interested in the expression "a tyranny of forty days," for Lord Camden had advocated the *legality* of the embargo, contrary to Lord Chatham's wishes. It must have been so singular a contradiction for Lord Camden to have termed his own *legal* measure a *tyranny*, that his friend Chatham would have an opportunity of reminding him of the inconsistency of his conduct; then might come the apology, "he inadvertently overshot himself." How could Junius be so well acquainted with such secret expressions without supposing that he was not only present, but interested in the debate, and intimately known to Lord Camden? That Lord Chatham was present, interested, and known to Lord Camden, Junius himself confesses in the subsequent sentence. Instead of Lord Camden's saying the Proclamation was legal, he should have said "I know the proclamation was illegal, but I advised it because it was indispensably necessary to save the kingdom from famine, and submit myself to the justice and mercy of my country." Here we not only have another proof that Junius was present in the House of Lords, and interested in the question, but we have the language which Lord Camden should have used; and, singular as it may seem, the sentiment which Lord Chatham expressed four years after the inadvertent words of Camden had been uttered. At the opening of the Session of Parliament in 1770, Lord Chatham says, "I myself advised the measure to the Council, which *I knew was not strictly legal*, but I recommended it as a measure of necessity, to save a starving people from famine, and I submitted to the judgment of my country." Perhaps it may be said that Junius gives the first sentence as a quotation. But how or where was he to seek for it? He does not tell us that he is indebted to Lord Chatham for the idea; it is given to the world as his own, and we have no right to dispute it. Lord Chatham *might*, in this instance, have been Junius.

The Ministry employed different plans to detect Junius; large sums of money were paid by them to spies and "court myrmidons." In his private letters to Woodfall, the word *caution* is frequently used. The literary hacks of the day were hired to write him down—and even Dr. Johnson, "the pensioner," condescended to receive the word of command from Lord Bute, and "to muster the whole of his political and argumentative powers in defence of the ministry." Junius thought proper to be

very indignant with the Government about the Falkland Islands affair. He exerted his best arguments to convince the public that it was a base transaction. This was in January, 1771. In the preceding November, Lord Chatham had discussed that transaction so ably in the House of Lords, that his arguments and even expressions were *pirated* by Junius. Two such opponents roused the Ministry; and Dr. Johnson, the Giant of Literature, attacked "the mighty boar of the forest," "with which the Ministry were not a little proud, especially as they made no doubt that Junius would hereby be drawn into a paper contest with Johnson, and that hence they would possess a greater facility of detecting him." Junius was aware of the trap, and made no reply to Johnson.

Junius had some knowledge of Garrick. Lord Chatham condescended to write verses in his praise.

The mysterious portions of Junius's Letters have been frequently selected as themes for critical answer, and, after the manner of commentators, conjectures have supplied the want of explanations which Junius thought proper to withhold. More importance, indeed, has been attached to trivial and unimportant expressions, and to mere verbal peculiarities, than to the principles advocated by Junius.

It has afforded matter of surprise and dissatisfaction to some, that in the former edition of this work I did not "controvert all the extraordinary amount and variety of evidence, and the mass of proofs, produced in favour of Sir Philip Francis's claims to the authorship of Junius's Letters." The evidence, arguments, and proofs on which those claims are based, have been so satisfactorily and conclusively disproved by Mr. Barker, that I might, without prejudice to myself, fairly decline entering the lists against Sir Philip, for "a question once decided is no longer a subject of argument." If gentlemen possessed sufficient candour to read what has been written on this controversy before they so authoritatively pronounce dogmatical opinions, a superficial examination of the proofs of presumed identity between Sir Philip Francis and Junius would carry conviction to the most prejudiced mind that the hypothesis had been founded on "false facts."

As, however, it is apparent that Mr. Barker's observations have been either not read, or inattentively examined, by some of the Franciscans, I feel less hesitation in entering, cursorily, into an exposition of the kind of proofs which have been considered entitled to so great attention, and on which an argument has been maintained that Junius is identified with Sir Philip Francis.

' A free quotation from Mr. Barker will appropriately introduce my own remarks:—" Mr. Taylor infers the identity of Sir Philip Francis with Junius,* because *Sir Philip reported speeches of Lord Chatham* which were used by Junius, although they were not in print at the time, and because Sir Philip, to the day of his death, continued to *quote from unprinted speeches of Lord Chatham*. But surely, looking to the situation which Sir Philip held under Lord Chatham*—looking at the patronage and friendship which he experienced from him—looking to the high admiration of his talents, and the deep veneration of his character, and the great fondness for the energetic language of Lord Chatham which Sir Philip has *avowed* in his writings—we need not wonder that Sir Philip should have taken notes of his Lordship's speeches for his own use, or have reported them for the benefit of the public." Mr. Taylor has these words—" Sir Philip declares that he was in the House of Lords on the night (January 9, 1770) this speech was made, and that he heard Lord Chatham make use of the very words which it contains."

In this instance the identity is brought home. "*I heard it from Lord Chatham,*" says Sir Philip, " that power without right is the most odious and detestable object that can be offered to the human imagination. It is at once '*res detestabilis et cadusa*.'" (Essay on the Regency, p. 223, in Mr. Taylor's book.) " In the printed speech this passage is as follows:—' Power without right is the most odious and detestable object that can be offered to the imagination ; it is not only pernicious to those who are subject to it, but tends to its own destruction. It is what my noble friend, Lord Lyttleton, has truly described it—*res detestabilis et cadusa*.' The motto in the same essay presents us with another quotation from *Lord Chatham's speech*:—' There is one ambition, at least, which I will not renounce but with my life. It is the ambition of delivering to my posterity those rights of freedom which I have received from my ancestors.' (*Earl of Chatham, Jan. 9, 1770.*) In this quotation the words *which I ever will acknowledge* should have been inserted after *least*. By the alteration, as in the former example, Sir Philip again proves his incontrovertible property in the printed speech. *But what does he say besides ?* '*After the noble speaker of these words, no man has as good a right to make use of them as I have.*' Perhaps it was not intended, but according to our present argument, *there is a truth in this assertion beyond what strikes the eye ;* for, if his Lordship uttered

* Sir Philip Francis acted at one time as Lord Chatham's Secretary.

the words, Sir Philip, who had given them to the public, had a *better title* to them than any other man *except his Lordship*.—Letters on the Author of Junius, p. 23 et seq.

The unknown author of "Junius Identified," (reviewed in vols. 86 and 87 of the *Gent. Mag.*) whose name, Mr. Urban remarks, is particularly desirable, pushes Sir P. Francis forward in the rudest manner, and in defiance of his positive declaration that it is "a silly and malignant falsehood" to suppose him the author of Junius's Letters. Determined, however, to crown the worthy knight, this unknown writer diligently seeks in the Earl of Chatham's speeches for pearls and jewels to make the coronal. The gist of his arguments is, that "Sir Philip Francis reported certain speeches of Lord Chatham's which are clearly paralleled in the Letters of Junius. The style, the uncommon expressions, the sentiments and arguments, for the space at times of a whole paragraph, agree exactly with the Letters." Therefore, argues this somebody, Sir Philip Francis must be the writer of the Letters. The modesty of his deduction is entitled to some praise. Why not have said, in more intelligible words, that because Sir Philip reported Lord Chatham's speeches he must have spoken them? "If the reader will leisurely examine the quotations about Lord Chatham, made by the author of Junius Identified, from the speeches and the writings of Sir Philip Francis, he will see in them alone sufficient reason for rejecting those claims. The evidence is internal, and therefore unsuspicious. The evidence supplied by one quotation is confirmed by the other quotations, while each quotation is sufficient for our purpose; not dependent links in a chain, but pillars standing on their own base. The passages (in Junius Identified) one and all, mark the affection, esteem, respect, and veneration uniformly entertained by Sir Philip for the person of Lord Chatham, while they attest his particular fondness for the nervous language of this second Demosthenes." (Letters on the author of Junius, p. 29.) "Sir Philip had a better title to these speeches than any other except his Lordship."

The publication, by Mr. G. Woodfall, of Fac-similes of the Private Correspondence of Junius with his Father, stimulated the industry of every collector of autograph letters with the hope of detecting the writer, and the claims of individuals to that title were made to rest on the presumed similarity of their hand-writings to the Letters. The absurdity of so fallacious a mode of examining a question, so long enveloped in mystery, would be apparent to most men, if the criterion had not been

adopted as fair evidence by public writers, entitled, by their abilities, to to our chief regard. If, indeed, the advocates for such an argument had been agreed in their opinions of what was similarity of hand-writing, they would have confined their meed of approbation within more circumscribed limits ; as it is, they dispute about the forms of almost every letter in the alphabet, and instead of one Junius we have half a dozen. The fac-similes which are offered in evidence of Sir Philip Francis's identity with Junius are met by Mr. Coventry with equal confidence by a beautifully engraved plate of Lord Sackville's hand-writing, which he says bears the strongest possible resemblance to Junius's. The honour of the discovery is, however, soon snatched from these gentlemen, by a fair lady, a soi-disante Princess, who, by the production of a mere fragment of a letter or memorandum, confidently claims of the public an assent to her opinion that Dr. Wilmot was Junius. But the question remained for debate, and our attention was directed in the *Gent. Mag.* for 1817 to the subject of the identity of Mr. Greatrakes with Junius. His advocate, not having an entire fac-simile letter, nor the half of a sentence, on which to ground his belief, limits his pretensions to "the small *s*, which is certainly elongated and struck off in the same peculiar manner as those letters are in the fragments which have been copied and published" by Mr. Woodfall in his edition of Junius.

The editors of the *Edinburgh Review* for June, 1826, gratuitously infer that the hand-writing of Junius is artificial, and that it coincides with the artificial hand-writing of Sir P. Francis ; from such premises they conclude that Sir Philip was probably the amanuensis of Junius. I cannot bend to the authority of these gentlemen, and I have no inclination to attempt a critical exposition of the absurdity of the declaration that the Letters of an unknown writer are written in a disguised hand. Whether Junius was his own amanuensis or not, is a mystery which cannot be solved by any arguments fairly deducible from his own Letters or the fac-similes given by Mr. Woodfall, consequently, presumed "similarity of hand-writing is a fallacious criterion for tracing the authorship of Junius."

Mr. Horne was no favourite with Junius, and the dislike was reciprocal. In the expression of Horne's anger, he has given us a curious and valuable explanation of facts relating to Junius and Lord Chatham. His sagacity led him to reflect and comment on the indescribable connection which appeared to him to exist between Junius and his Lordship.

The studied and cautious language of Junius, whenever he has occasion to allude to Lord Chatham, puzzled him ; he tried to solve the Sphinx's riddle, and demanded of Junius his opinion of that nobleman. The very words in which he put the question imply his suspicions and discernment—and in the subsequent conduct of Junius, he evidently dreads the prying curiosity of the Monk. Mr. Horne's letter is an answer to some sarcastic remarks of Junius. After replying to his charges, he turns round upon Junius, abuses him in no very delicate language, and makes one observation of more importance to me than all the letters of Mr. Horne. "Because Lord Chatham had been ill-treated by the King, and treacherously betrayed by the Duke of Grafton, the latter is to be 'the pillow on which Junius will rest his resentment,' and the public are to oppose the measures of government, from mere motives of personal enmity to the Sovereign ! These are the avowed principles of Junius." In reply to this Junius says, "I see the pitiful advantage he has taken of a single *unguarded expression* in a letter *not intended for the public*. I am called upon to deliver my opinion of Lord Chatham," &c. He takes good care, however, to avoid giving a direct answer ; yet he is clearly aware of what Mr. Horne implies, for, he observes, "Mr. Horne intimates that he knows the author of these letters ; but I am called upon to deliver my opinion of Lord Chatham." Reluctantly he answers—"It seems I am a partisan of the great Leader of Opposition (Lord Chatham.) If the charge had been a reproach, it should have been better supported ; *I did not intend to make a public declaration of the respect I bear Lord Chatham*. I well knew what unworthy conclusions would be drawn from it ; but I am called upon to deliver my opinion, and surely it is not in the little censure of Mr. Horne to deter me from doing signal justice to a man who, I confess, has grown upon my esteem. As for the common, sordid views of avarice, or any purpose of vulgar ambition, I question whether the applause of Junius would be of service to Lord Chatham. *My* vote will hardly recommend him to an increase of his pension, or to a seat in the Cabinet. But if his ambition be upon a level with his understanding ; if he judges of what is truly honourable for himself, with the same superior genius which animates and directs him to eloquence in debate, to wisdom in decision, even the pen of Junius shall contribute to reward him. Recorded honours shall gather round his monument and thicken over him. It is a solid fabric, and will support the laurels that adorn it. I am not conver-

sant in the language of panegyric. *These praises are extorted from me ; but they will wear well, for they have been dearly earned.*" In a letter to Wilkes he says " I have no objection to paying him (Lord Chatham) such compliments as carry a condition with them, and either bind him firmly to the cause or become the bitterest reproach to him if he deserts it. *Of this last I have not the most distant suspicion.*" *

The metaphors and similes in the Letters of Junius have been extolled as the finest in any language. One of them has excited the greatest attention, and has been alluded to by numerous writers. Mr. Butler extends his praises so far as to say that "it is difficult to mention another so exquisitely beautiful and so happily illustrative and confirmatory of the argument." I will extract the figure from the 42d Letter :—"The King's honour is that of his people. Their real honour and real interest are the same. Private credit is wealth ; public honour is security. The feather that adorns the royal bird, supports its flight. Strip him of his plumage, and you fix him to the earth." Poetry and prose have been ransacked ; Burke, Pope, and Dryden have been made to surrender up passages which have been supposed worthy of standing by the side of this delightful metaphor, but no simile has been produced so exquisitely beautiful—"I turn with pleasure from that barren waste in which no salutary plant takes root, no verdure quickens," and in the lofty genius of Lord Chatham I find a metaphor "happily illustrative and confirmatory of the argument." "I revere," says Lord Chatham, "the just prerogative of the crown, and would contend for it as warmly as for the rights of the people. *They are linked together, and naturally support*

* No public man of the period was, perhaps, more capable than Lord Chatham of writing the Letters of Junius ; but the Earl, although secure against detection, could not, it may be presumed from his general conduct, have applied those terms of eulogy to himself with which he was deservedly honoured by the pen of Junius.—Georgian Era, v. 1, p. 344.

"Junius never once mentions the name of Lord Temple ; and whenever he mentions his brother-in-law, Lord Chatham, it is evidently with great caution and hesitancy ; and it is alike remarkable that this illustrious nobleman never mentions, in any of his fine speeches, the name of Junius."—Gent. Mag. v. 100, p. 581.

each other. I would not touch a feather of the prerogative. The entire command and power of directing the local disposition of the army is in the royal prerogative as the master feather in the eagle's wing."

To make a single comment on this passage is unnecessary ;—it stands a parallel to the metaphor of Junius, and equals it.

It is asserted by almost every writer on this controversy that Junius was politically hostile to Lord Chatham. If this were true, Junius cannot be identified in his Lordship. The authorities selected to support such an opinion are from "The Miscellaneous Letters," but not a single sentence is produced to favour that supposition from the Letters of Junius. Mr. Barker takes the lead in this class of authors, and shows considerable anxiety to impress upon the attention of his readers that he believes in that hypothesis. In his preface, p. 11, he says "Now in the following pages the author has abundantly proved that Lord Chatham was, in the earlier part of Junius's reign, the constant object of attack ; and that Junius subsequently but very guardedly panegyrised him ; and that as political aversion was the cause of the attack, so political attachment was the cause of the panegyric." So again, p. 18, "The dislike which Junius, in the early part of his authorship, had to Lord Chatham, originated in the difference of political feelings and objects, as the subsequent attachment to him is to be traced to an approximation in their political opinions." At p. 30, Mr. B. continues—"Junius's early aversion to Lord Chatham was political, and his attachment was political only." At pages 178, 247, 248, and 282, Mr. Barker reiterates, in nearly the same language, his decided conviction that Junius's aversion to Lord Chatham was entirely political and confined to the earlier part of his reign ; and he concludes, "The early aversion of Junius for Lord Chatham terminated about the date of the 54th letter under his favourite signature of Junius ; he then began to think commendably of this nobleman."

The early aversion of Junius for Lord Chatham is confined to the Miscellaneous Letters, and I conceive the language selected to show that aversion indicates more a personal than an entirely political feeling of hostility towards that nobleman. Let us never forget that the Letters of Junius do not display any aversion to Lord Chatham ; and that when his Lordship's name is mentioned, Junius "very guardedly panegyrises him." "No particular inference is safe reasoning when any other inference can be drawn from the same fact ; that inference is alone valuable argument which is the only inference deducible from the same fact."

If we try the validity of Mr. Barker's inference by his own logical postulatam, we shall be compelled to say that his fact was false. The Editor of Blackwood's Magazine (vol. 18, p. 168,) in a long dissertation about Junius, remarks that "Junius attacks Lord Chatham bitterly, although he uniformly lauds his genius, and on most points coincides with his general politics." If any but a reviewer had written this sentence I would have broken a lance with him. To doubt a dogma *ex cathedrâ*, would subject me to the critic's rod. Thus much, however, I may without danger remark, that Junius must have been, according to these gentlemen, a strange anomalous being. Mr. Barker says that Junius's hostility to Lord Chatham was entirely political. The Reviewer says he lauds his genius, and coincides with him in his general politics. Opposite inferences from one fact can never be considered fair deductions.

I cannot refrain from observing that Mr. Barker, (as well as most writers on this controversy,) can scarcely write a single page without introducing the name of Lord Chatham. The connection between him and Junius was too evident to have passed unnoticed. The "early aversion" of that writer to Lord Chatham was unheard of prior to the publication of the Miscellaneous Letters. Mr. Barker supplies me with a sentence which shall conclude this part of my investigation:—"Had Junius (says Mr. B. p. 30,) felt and avowed on every occasion throughout his political career an ardent attachment to the person of, and the highest respect for, the talents and the character of Lord Chatham, and a particular delight in adopting his sentiments and applying his language, as we know to have been the case in regard to Sir Philip Francis, *then I hesitate not to declare that there would have been such a proof of identity between these two patriots as would have been most satisfactory and perhaps conclusive on the question.*"

A question of considerable interest must now be discussed. If Lord Chatham were the author of the Letters of Junius, what probable and adequate reason prevented him or his descendants and friends from avowing the fact. Mr. Barker gives us a communication from a friend, of the discovery of some papers at Stowe which possess more than an ordinary interest:—"I was informed some time ago that the Duke of Buckingham had, from certain documents found in his archives, discovered who really was the author of the Letters of Junius. Not having the honour of his Grace's acquaintance, I wrote to a friend who had been in the habit of spending a considerable portion of his time at Stowe, to

let me know whether he had heard any thing upon the subject during his stay there, and whether the Duke was inclined to make public the documents. In answer, he informed me that he had heard his Grace express himself to the effect of knowing who Junius was, and that his name was not among those *who had ever been suspected*. My friend was not inclined to trespass further upon his Grace's communicativeness."

The remark on this sentence, by the Editor of the Gent. Mag. for October, 1828, when reviewing Mr. Barker's work, deserves more than common attention:—" *One of the Grenville family must be the only *Edipus* who can solve this Sphinx's riddle*" And in corroboration of that opinion, I may quote what Mr. Charles Butler, author of the *Reminiscences*, says, when noticing the set of vellum-bound books directed by Junius to be prepared for him by Mr. Woodfall. "Who is the fortunate possessor of these two vellum volumes? The Reminiscent knows as little as the rest of the world, but he thinks it was not unknown to the founder of a noble house to whom the public owes an edition of Homer which does the nation honour."* I presume he means Lord Grenville, the founder of whose noble house was Mr. George Grenville.

The family papers of the Earl of Chatham were bequeathed by him "in trust to Lady Chatham, Richard Earl Temple, and Charles Lord Camden." Now bearing in mind that Lord Temple and Lady Chatham were in the relationship of brother and sister to George Grenville, and of uncle and aunt to the Marquis of Buckingham, it will not require a great stretch of imagination to conceive "that the Duke of Buckingham had, from certain documents found in his archives, discovered who really was the author of the Letters of Junius." That the Grenville family knew the writer of these letters the literary world have long acknowledged. Even Dr. Parr condescends to point out to the Grenville family; nay, he is pleased to express an opinion that Charles Lloyd, private Secretary to the Right Hon. George Grenville, must be Junius, *because he was Secretary* to a man who knew more than others about Junius.

"Dr. Parr remarked that Junius speaks very guardedly of George Grenville, because he wished to disguise the fact that his sources of information were Lord Chatham, (whom he mentions as seldom and with

* Known to the literary circles as "The Grenville Homer."

the same caution), Lord Temple, and George Grenville himself." * Again he observes—"Lord Grenville knows the late Marquis of Buckingham once dropped three or four significant words; but I will tell you more when we meet in London." The Doctor's correspondent, Mr. Charles Butler, writes—"I think the Letters are a production of the Grenville school." The Editor of *Blackwood's Mag.* vol. 18, p. 177, has this comment on Mr. Butler's conjecture:—"Mr. Butler hints that Lord Grenville could tell something about that copy if he pleases. Without doubt the last of the generation to which that eminent statesman belongs must have passed away ere this mysterious controversy can be fully settled." The observations of the Editors of the *Edinburgh Review* for 1826 are too valuable to have escaped my attention. After making some general remarks, these critics proceed to say "That the writer of the Letters of Junius is still undiscovered, Whoever revives the inquiry, therefore, unless he discovered positive and irresistible evidence in support of his claimant, should show him to be politically attached to the Grenville party, which Junius certainly was, and must also produce some specimens of his writings of tolerable length, such as might afford reasonable ground for believing that he could have written these Letters. Though a few letters were written after the death of Mr. George Grenville, yet to that event, and the dissolution of his party, the cessation of Junius is to be attributed. In the cases of Dyer and Sir Philip Francis, the two candidates of most plausible pretension, no proof has hitherto appeared of connexion with the Grenville party. Some resemblance of style in Francis is a very inconsiderable argument, for almost every contributor to a newspaper, during the twenty years which followed the Letters, was an imitator of Junius."

These quotations abundantly prove that the Grenville family are generally presumed to know something about the author of Junius's Letters. It would be rather a subject of curiosity than of elucidation if we were confined in this inquiry to the mere knowledge that

* "If the Letters were concocted in the cabinet of the Grenvilles, they might have been, in a greater or less degree, auxiliaries; but two or three subordinate understandings cannot make one master-mind. Junius might have subalterns to assist, but he was alone and unrivalled in the execution."—*Letters on the Author of Junius*, p. 278.

general consent and accidental yet favourable circumstances pointed to a particular individual as the *Œdipus* who could solve the riddle; and the question would be not the less perplexing if, at the same time, we could not ascertain that an adequate reason now exists why the full solution of the riddle is not made known by the family with whose archives it has been hitherto so securely concealed.

"If the Grenvilles were in the secret, they had very momentous reasons to prevent them from divulging it during the last reign. Even at present they may feel a repugnance in having it known that they, in the person of their ancestor, if I may so speak, were accomplices in laying bare to the vulgar scorn the hypocritical interior of sceptered Majesty, and in teaching the multitude to think and to speak contemptuously of kings." In a letter which I received in 1830, from the late Mr. Charles Butler, the Reminiscent, he observes, "I have been recently informed that Sir P. Francis owed his India appointment to the first Lord Holland, who had always been his patron; and that Francis by his will bequeathed an elegant copy of *Junius* to his wife. The former fact makes it unnecessary to connect Sir Francis's appointment with the authorship; the last may be thought to indicate his wish to be thought the author of the *Letters*."

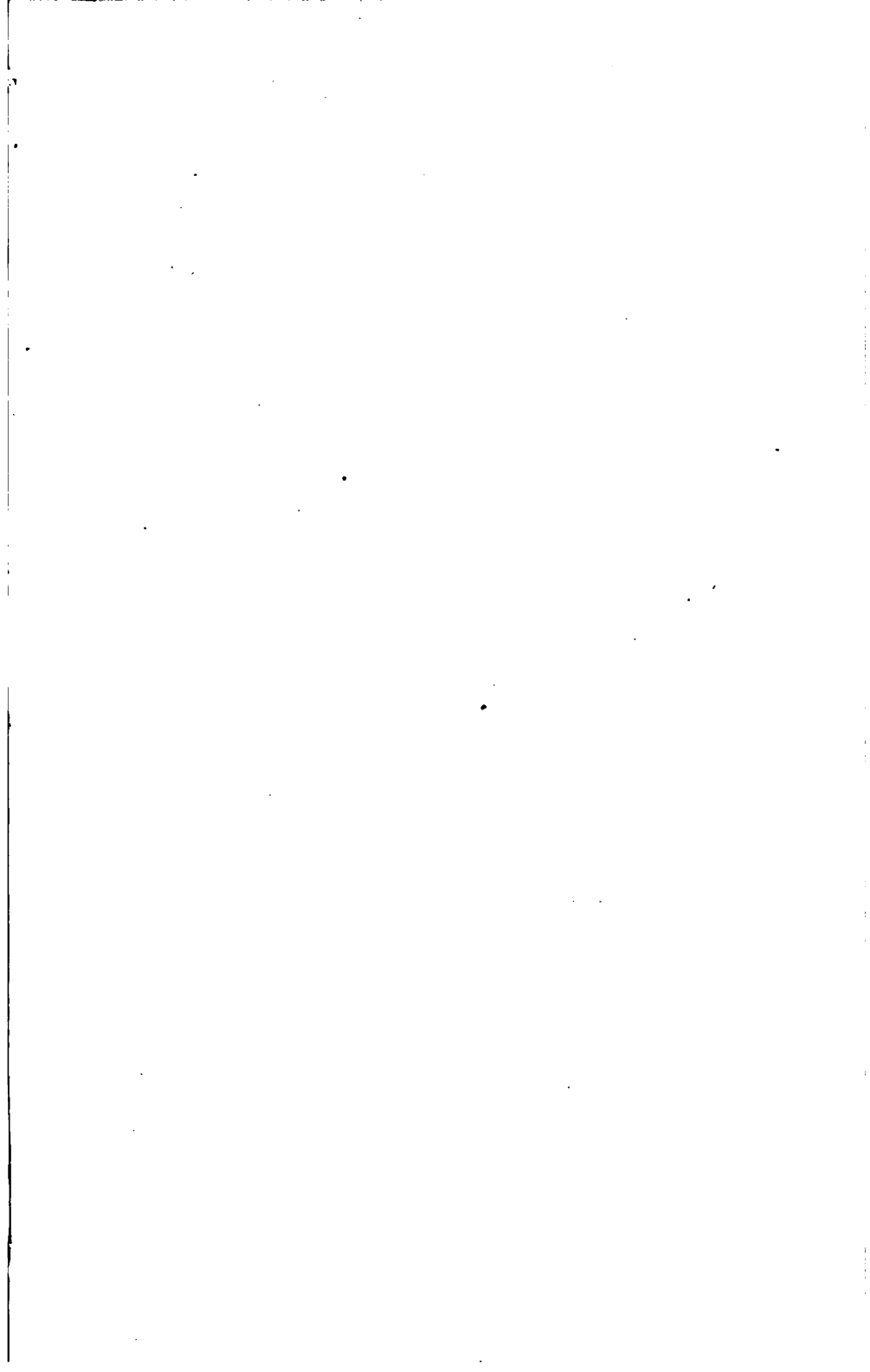
If the "vellum bound books" and manuscripts had been discovered with the archives of the Francis family, what motives exist to prevent their publicity? Lady Francis would have been tempted by vanity, interest, and ambition, to reveal a secret, neither discreditable to Sir Philip's memory nor injurious to the feelings and interests of his relations. The same argument is as conclusive against Boyd, Wray, Lloyd, and the numerous claimants who in their life-time would have been proud to have been known as the writer of *Junius's Letters*. The fear of a discovery, which influenced *Junius* to adopt that excessive precautionary language and plan of communication with his printer, Woodfall, has long ceased to deter men from revealing such a secret if they had been in possession of it. What mortal can now say "I should not survive a discovery three days"? Can a bill of banishment disturb the ashes of the dead? Can a bill of attainder blot the escutcheon on the tomb? The anger of insulted and offended majesty is subdued by "the king of terrors," and *Junius* himself has long slept the sleep of death.

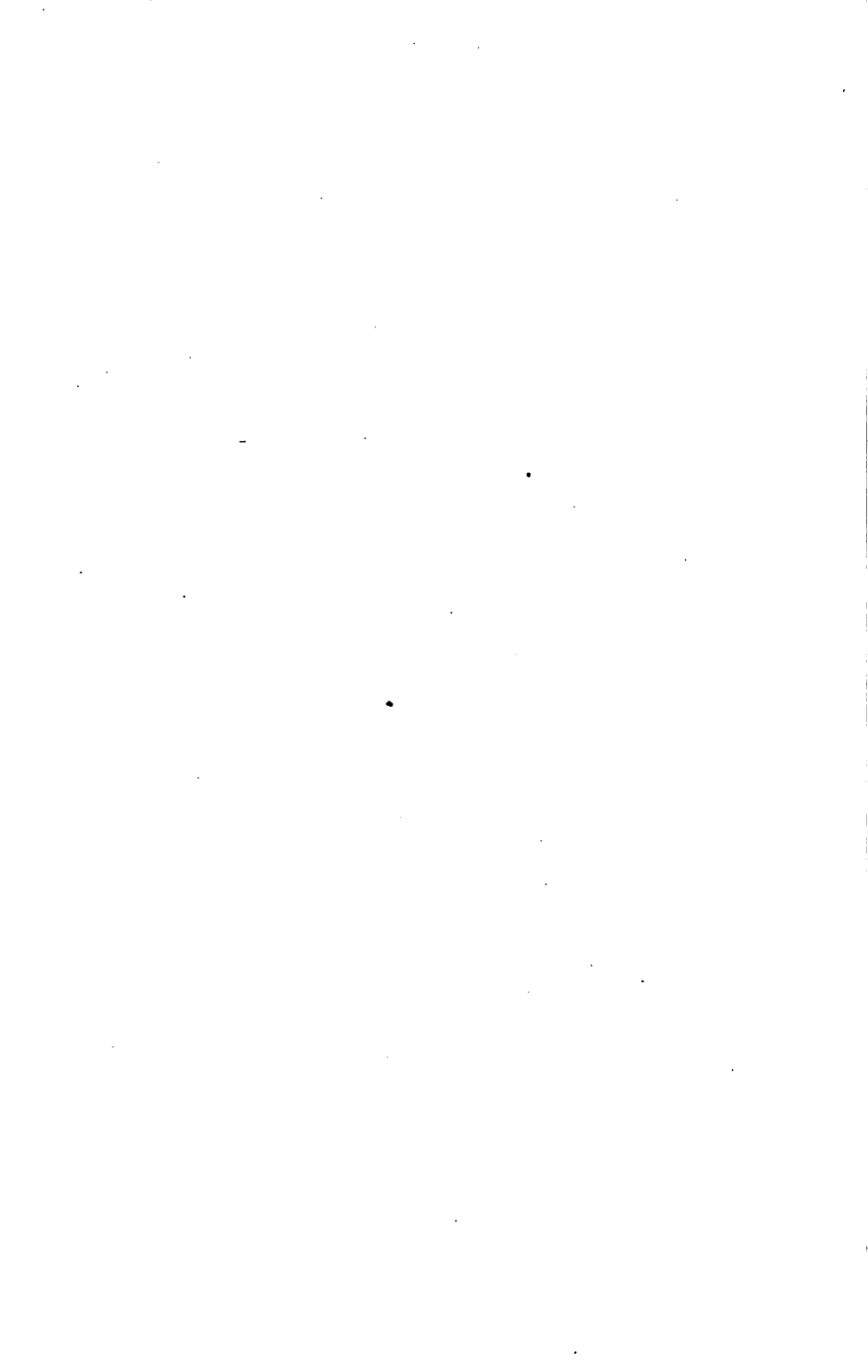
"Who is *Junius* is not an idle question at the present day, for it seems the secret is worth keeping; and, indeed, if he were a man of

rank and influence, as is universally supposed, there are descendants, relatives, connections, which hitherto may have required the protecting hand of oblivion ; but many lamps are already extinguished, and others have long been burning, so that in all human probability, a little climacteric, or even a ternary of years, will unfold the mystery in good time to supply the Russells, or the House of Manners, with at least one able and fearless historian."—Anniversary Calendar, p. 69.

The Stowe archives are kept as a sealed book, and no ordinary inducements will ever lead the Grenvilles, the Buckinghams, Temples, or Chathams of this generation to break the seal of secrecy. Whenever this mystery is elucidated, we shall find that the Father of the Pilot that weathered the storm was a Whig and the Author of the Letters of Junius.

The motto, "*Stat nominis umbra*," prefixed by Junius to his Letters, possessed sufficient interest to engage my attention to this investigation. The beauty and lovely proportions of the shadow tempted me to seek the substance. Protected by the genius of liberty, I found it "faithful among the faithless." The pen of Junius has recorded the honours that gather round his monument. If they "thicken over him" through my agency I shall not have laboured in vain ; I shall have added no mean ray to the bright fame of a Chatham. I may say, too, without egotism, that I shall have rendered some little service to the republic of letters and to the literary world.



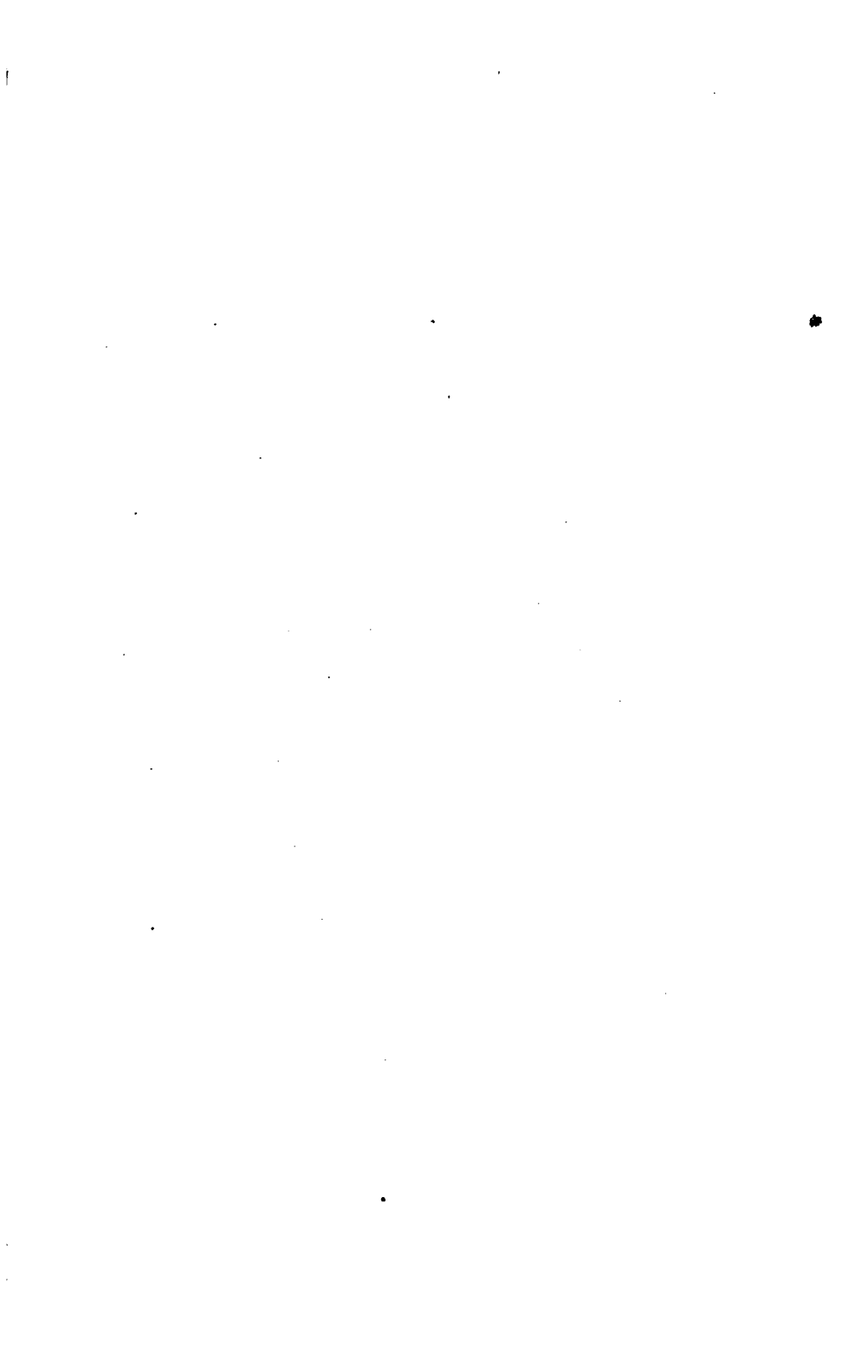


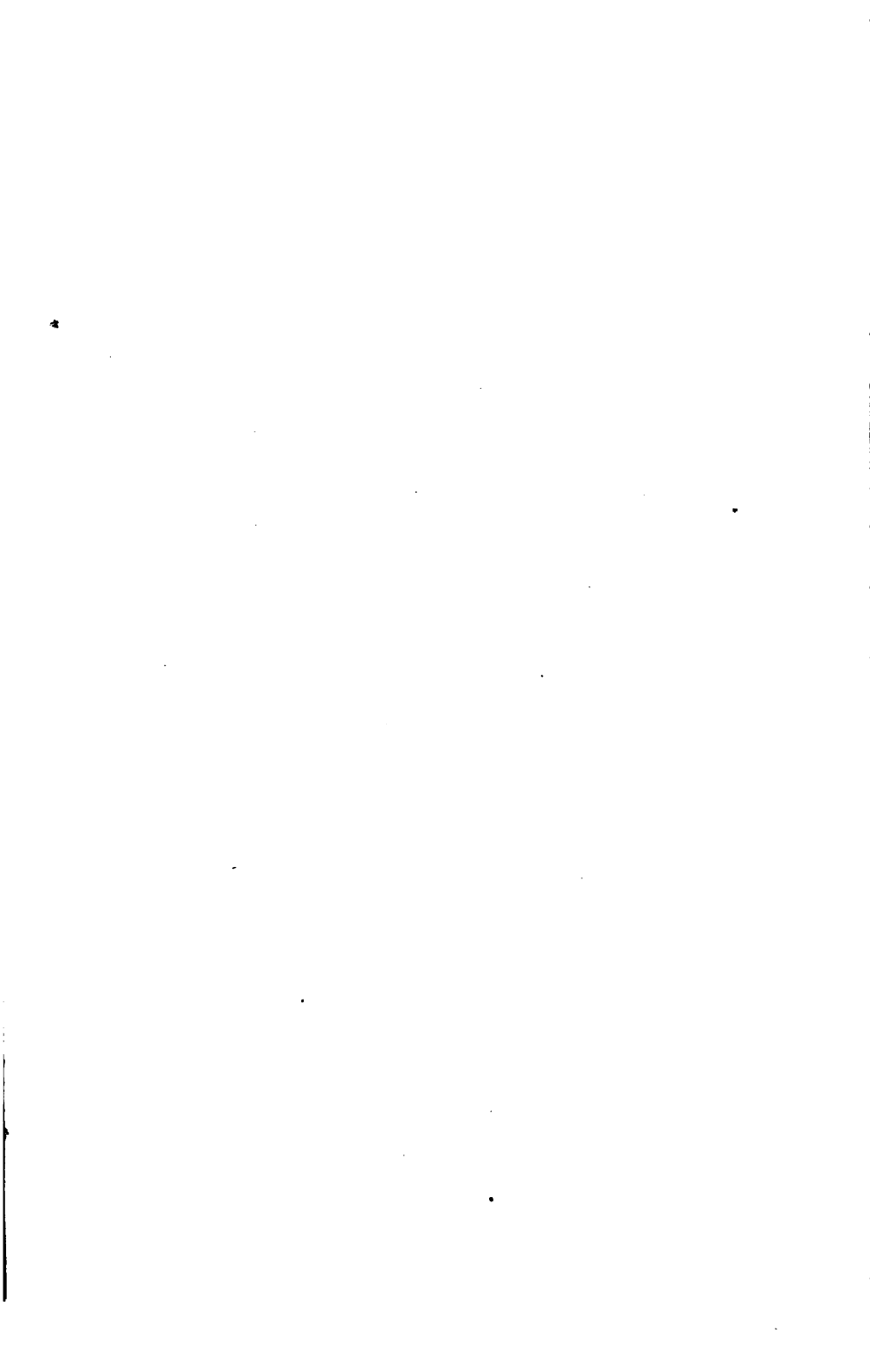


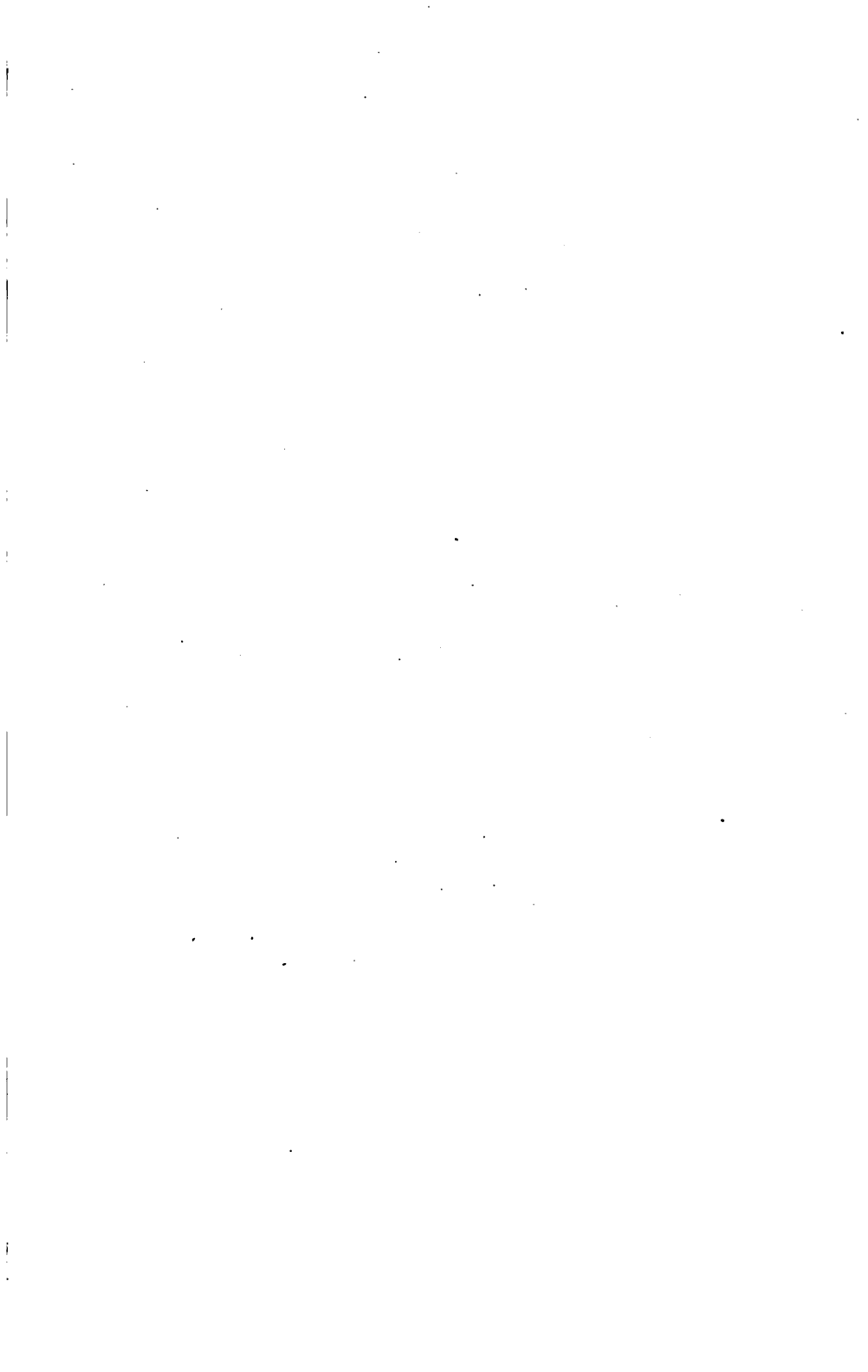


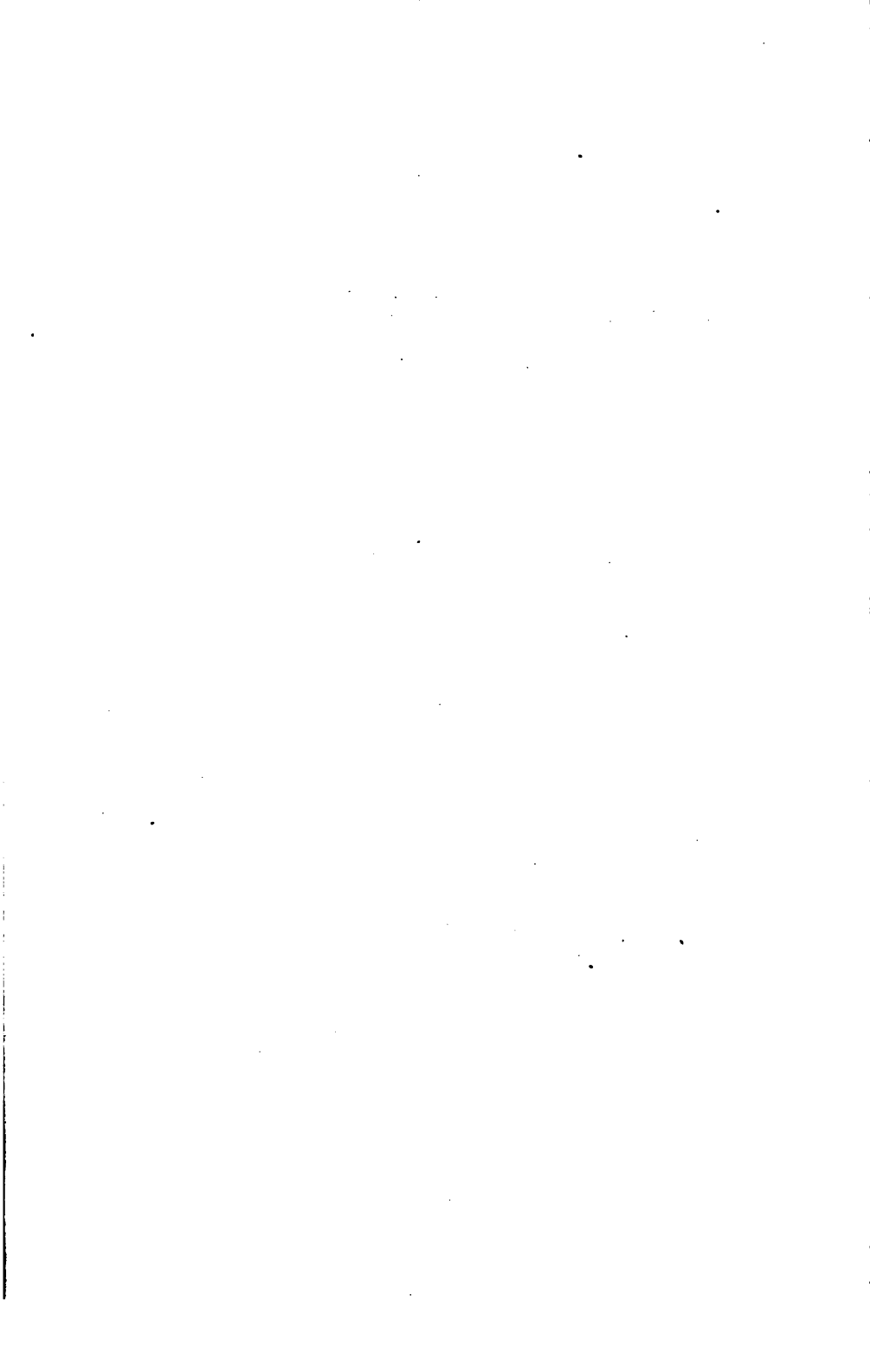


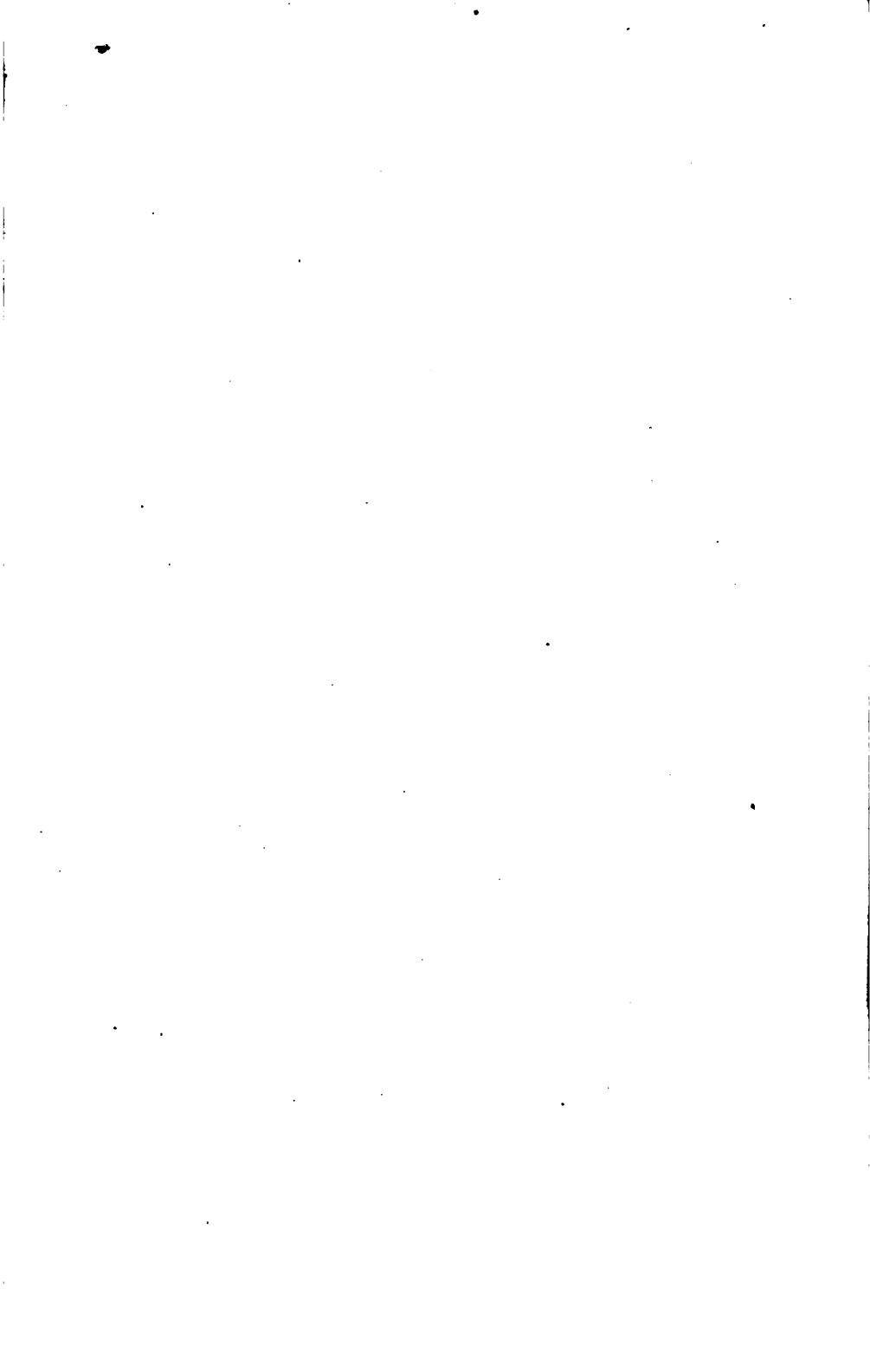




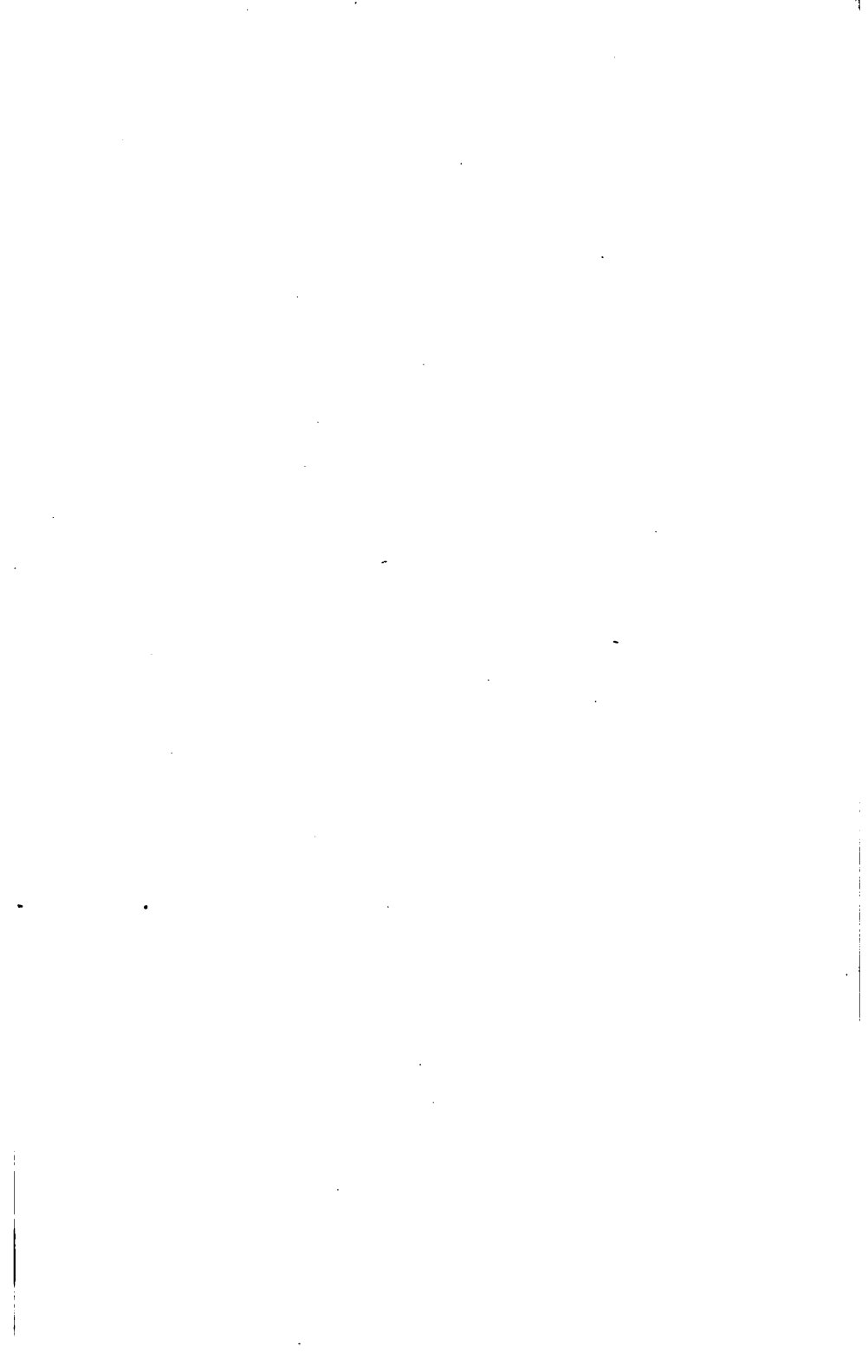


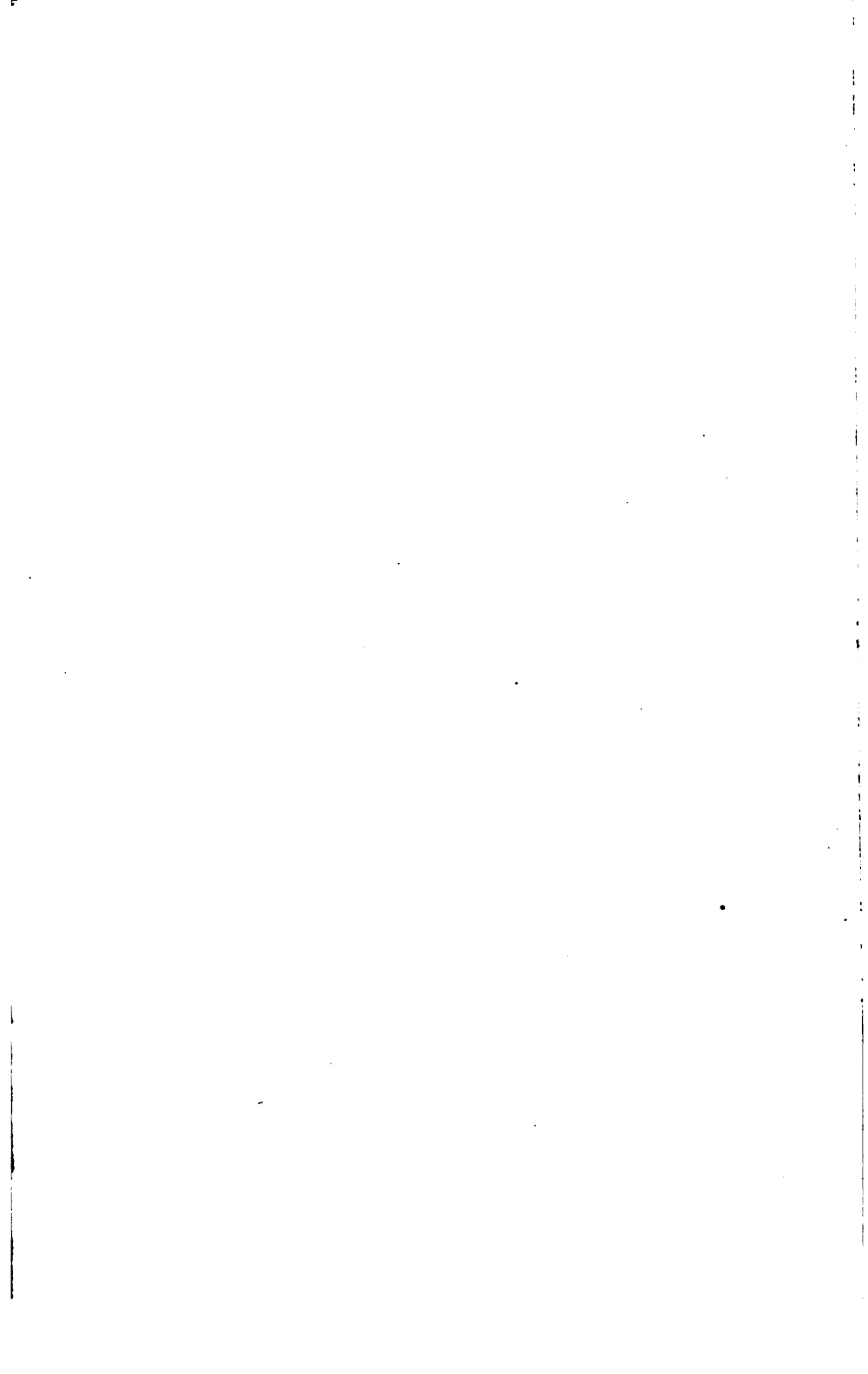












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